

Cek. H 10532 - 127 120631

310.5
003

CRCU 639(1)

20615

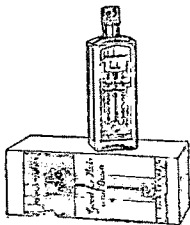
THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1939

CONTENTS

127

	PAGE
The Indian Princes in Federation	1
Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.	
Air Raid Precautions	12
M. I. D. Mufti, M.S.E., A.M.I.	
Education and Social Order... ..	30
Humayun Z. A. Kabir, M.A.,	
Indices of Economic Progress in France	41
Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A.	



FOND MEMORY

Brings to mind the Pujas, the Faces of Dear Ones
and

THE FRAGRANCE OF

JABAKUSUM

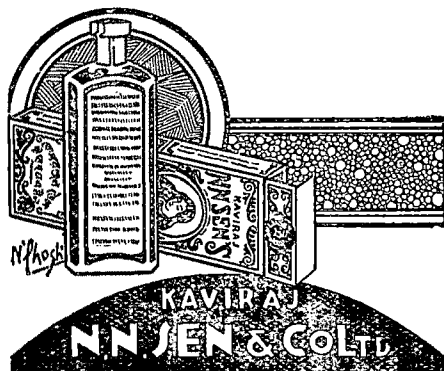
HAIR OIL

Obtainable from Reliable Stores or Direct from—

C. K. SEN & Co., LTD., "JABAKUSUM HOUSE" CALCUTTA

REGISTERED TRADE MARK

Poojah Greetings!
"KE SHIRANJAN"



Here's the Real Soap!
WITH ALL THE GERMICIDAL
PROPERTIES OF
NEEM (MARGOSA)
INTACT, MADE BY
OUR EXCLUSIVE
PATENTED PROCESS
WHICH GIVE
PROTECTION
AGAINST ALL
INFECTIONS.

CALCHEMICO
MARGO
TOILET • MEDICINAL • ANTISEPTIC.

HIGHLY FRAGRANT
FREE-LATHERING SOAP
WHICH BEAUTIFIES YOUR
SKIN and COMPLEXION &
GIVES A SMOOTH FEEL.
HARMLESS FOR THE MOST DELICATE SKIN.
free from animal fat.

SOAP
GERMICIDAL

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL
BALLYGUNGE CALCUTTA

CONTENTS—(Continued).

	Page
e and Rossetti 	47
Ram Bilas Sharma, M.A.	
w Tendencies in Italian Drama 	57
Dr. Moni Moulik, D.Sc.	
Metaphysics Possible ? A Study of Kant 	63
Prof. N. K. Brahma	
Modernism in Buddhist Education 	78
K. K. Mookerjee, M.A., B.T.	
Characterisation in Bankim Chandra's Novels 	87
Amiya Kumar Sen. M.A.	

LIFE ASSURANCE is the only means whereby one can, by easy periodical payments, provide with certainty, an amount one considers sufficient to ensure FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE for oneself in one's old age and/or for one's dependents.

EVERY YEAR thousands of discerning persons lay the Foundation Stone of ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE for themselves in their old age and/or for their dependents after them by insuring their lives with the

“ ORIENTAL ”

the strongest and most popular
Indian Life Assurance Company

DO NOT DELAY

Take out an “ ORIENTAL ” Policy Today.

Write for particulars to :—

ORIENTAL

GOVT. SECURITY LIFE ASSURANCE CO., LTD.

ESTD. 1874.

OR

Head Office :—BOMBAY.

THE BRANCH SECRETARY,

ORIENTAL ASSURANCE BUILDINGS, 2, CLIVE ROW, CALCUTTA, Phone Cal. 500.



Abdul Hamid, who represented India in Athletics in the Olympic Games at Amsterdam and Far Eastern Games at Tokyo, writes: "I represented India twice in the International Games in athletics at Amsterdam in 1928 and Tokyo in 1930, when I always refreshed myself with a cup of tea after an event. We were all crazy about tea. Now as a coach and trainer of athletes it is my firm belief that a cup of tea is a wholesome drink after strenuous exercise."



TEA *for Stamina*

Read our new Sports Brochure entitled, "*Now for a Cup of Tea*" and see why the leading sportsmen of India recommend tea for endurance and stamina during and after games. Please cut out this coupon and send it, together with your name, address and occupation, to the Commissioner for India, Indian Tea Market Expansion Board, P. O. Box No. 2172, Calcutta, who will send you free of charge a copy of the Brochure.

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	Page
Maori Land and Culture	99
Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Lit,	
News and Views	110
Miscellany	114
Reviews and Notices of Books	119
Ourselves	124

Please ring up B. B. 227
for your silk requirements.



Production Centre :
Chack, P.O. Islampur, Mursidabad.

CHARMING PUJA SELECTIONS

INDIAN SILK STORES

57-B College St. (Opp. Market), Calcutta.

D. N. Bose's Hosiery

FACTORY

"The Best at the Start—The Best Even To-Day"

SANKHA & PADMA BRAND

For Really Durable and Best Quality Genjee—
ask for above renowned Brand

36-1A, SARKAR LANE, CALCUTTA

Phone : B. B. 2165.

JEWELLERIES
*guinea gold
ornaments &
silverware*

PHONE
Bow Bazar
1761

TELE.
BOWBAZAR
CAL

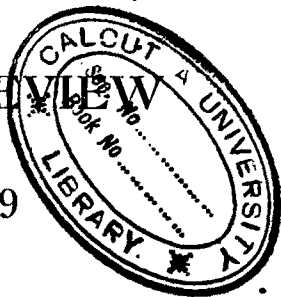
the most enduring value and
distinction manufactured in our
own workshop are always in
stock for sale.
**MAKING CHARGES
MODERATE.**
Our latest Catalogue No B 3
with revised rates and new
designs is sent free on request.

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS.
SON AND GRANDSONS OF LATE B. SIRKAR
MANUFACTURING JEWELLERS, DEALERS IN SOVEREIGN (22 CT) GOLD ONLY
124 & 124/1 BOWBAZAR ST. CALCUTTA.
BOWBAZAR - AMHERST ST. JUNCTION

CRCU 159

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1939



CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Shakespearean Puzzle—Endeavours after its Solution Sir P. C. Ray, Kt.	... 129
The Doctrine of Malnutrition in its Bearings on Over-population Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A.	140
Girishchandra Bose B. K. Palit, M.A.	... 153

HIDDEN STRENGTH

When you look at a building realising either its beauty or usefulness do you remember the unseen steel? Whether entirely of steel frame work construction or not, steel is the material on which the architect relies in his calculations for safety.



STEEL FOR SAFETY

ISSUED BY THE TATA IRON & STEEL CO., LTD.



K. Bose, the idol of Bengal's cricket enthusiasts, says: "I have always appreciated a cup of good tea after a day's cricket. I take tea regularly every day in the year and I am none the worse for it."



TEA for Stamina

Read our new Sports Brochure entitled, "*Now for a Cup of Tea*" and see why the leading sportsmen of India recommend tea for endurance and stamina during and after games. Please cut out this coupon and send it, together with your name, address and occupation to the Commissioner for India, Indian Tea Market Expansion Board, P. O. Box No. 2172, Calcutta who will send you free of charge a copy of the Brochure.

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	Page
Melpomene in England: A Study of Gilbert Murray's <i>Andromache</i>	161
Rabindra Kumar Dasgupta, M.A.	
Charter Act of 1793 and the Outlines of British Commercial Policy in India during the Next Twenty Years	171
Hari Ranjan Ghosal, M.A., B.L.	
The People and Culture of the Philippines	182
Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt.	
An Approach to Modern Oriya Literature	193
Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.	
<u>Is There a "General Will"</u>	215
Chunilal Mitra, M.A.	
News and Views	225
[Miscellany	228
Reviews and Notices of Books	236
Ourselves	241

D. N. Bose's Hosiery

FACTORY

"The Best at the Start—The Best Even To-Day"

SANKHA & PADMA BRAND

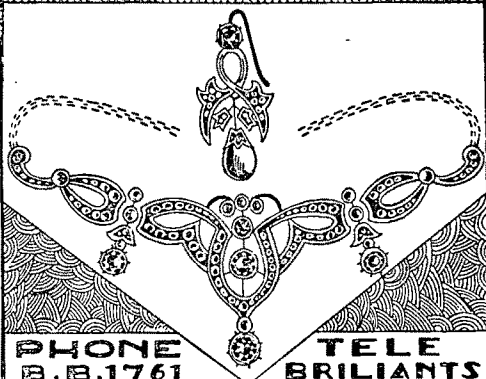
For Really Durable and Best Quality Genjee—
Ask for above renowned Brand

36-1A, SARKAR LANE, CALCUTTA

Phone: B. B. 2165

JEWELLERIES
GUINEA GOLD
ORNAMENTS

Always in Stock and
also made to order.
Please write for our
latest Catalogue
No. B4
with new designs.



PHONE
B. B. 1761

TELE
BRILIANTS

NBSIRKAR & SONS

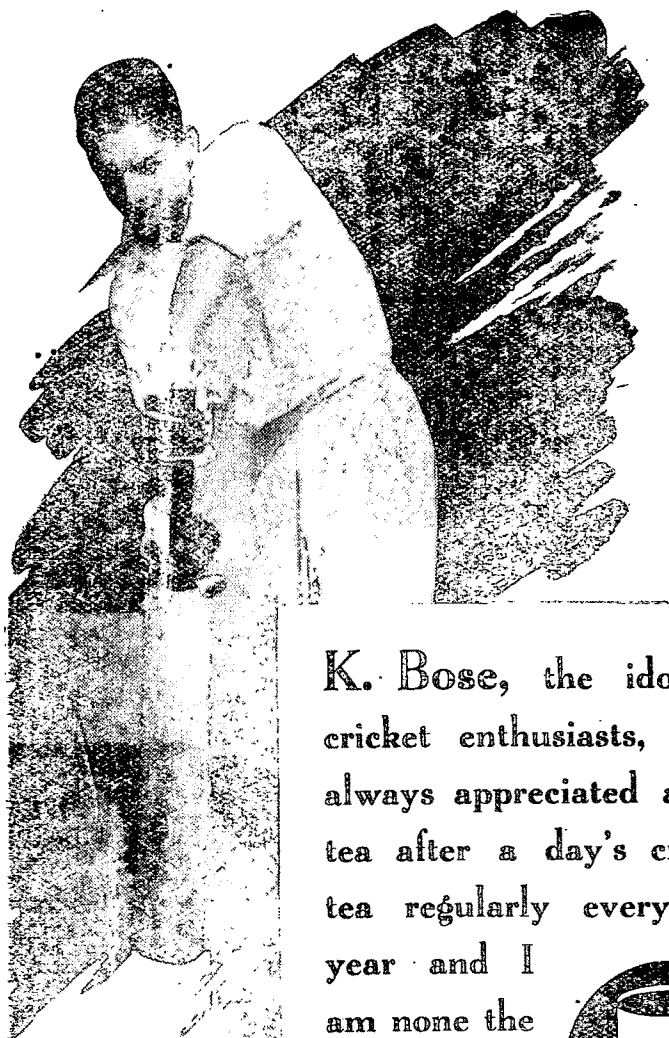
SON & GRAND SONS OF LATE B. SIRKAR
124, 124-1, BOW BAZAR ST. CALCUTTA

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1939

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Shakespearean Puzzle—endeavours after its solution Sir P. C. Ray, Kt.	... 247
Cottage Industries in Congress Provinces Prof- H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.	... 257
Convocation address Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt.	... 277
The Aesthetic and the social in Art Appreciation Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar	... 291
A Retrospective Study of Indian Womanhood Taponath Chakrabarty, M.A.	... 299
Historical Background of Hardy's Determinism—I Bansi Dhar	... 307



K. Bose, the idol of Bengal's cricket enthusiasts, says: "I have always appreciated a cup of good tea after a day's cricket. I take tea regularly every day in the year and I am none the worse for it."



TEA *for Stamina*

Read our new Sports Brochure entitled, "Now for a Cup of Tea" and see why the leading sportsmen of India recommend tea for endurance and stamina during and after games. Please cut out this coupon and send it, together with your name, address and occupation to the Commissioner for India, Indian Tea Market Expansion Board, P. O. Box No. 2172, Calcutta who will send you free of charge a copy of the Brochure.

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	Page
New Light on the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 ... Tripurari Chakravarti, M.A.	321
News and Views	335
Miscellany	338
Reviews and Notices of Books	344
Ourselves	346

COMMENCE THE NEW YEAR WITH A *NEW SUIT!*

WINTER SUITINGS

ADVANCED DESIGNS FOR 1940

ALL THE LATEST IN A VARIETY OF
SHADES & DESIGNS

OUR SELECTIONS ARE THE WIDEST
AND MOST COMPLETE IN
CALCUTTA

OVERCOATINGS, SUITINGS,
SHIRTINGS, ETC., ETC.

You'll Effect
SAVINGS
by buying
NOW!

J. S. MOHAMEDALLY

(*Calcutta's Leading Cloth Merchant*)

TOWER HOUSE : : . CALCUTTA
CHOWRINGHIE SQUARE

NO BRANCHES IN GRANT STREET OR DHURUMTOLLA STREET

D N. Bose's Hosiery

FACTORY

"The Best at the Start—The Best Even To-Day"

SANKHA & PADMA

BRAND

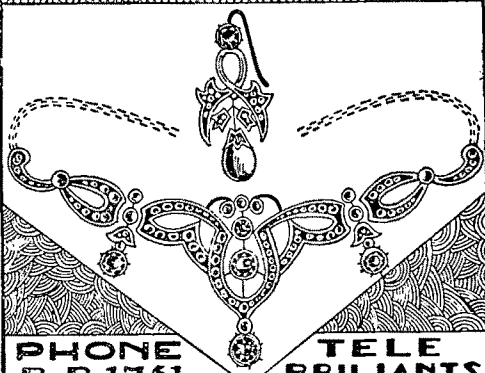
For Really Durable and Best Quality Genjee—
Ask for above renowned Brand

36-1A, SARKAR LANE, CALCUTTA

Phone : B. B. 2165

JEWELLERIES
GUINEA GOLD
ORNAMENTS

Always in Stock and
also made to order.
Please write for our
latest Catalogue
No. B4
with new designs.



PHONE
B.B.1761

TELE
BRILIANTS

MBSIRKAR & SONS

SON & GRAND SONS OF LATE B. SIRKAR

124, 124-1, BOWBAZAR ST. CALCUTTA



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW ..

OCTOBER, 1939

THE INDIAN PRINCES IN FEDERATION *

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

*Fellow, Calcutta University; Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal;
President, Bengal Evangelistic Mission; President, Baptist Lay Association, Bengal;
President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians.*

THE celebrated speech delivered in Calcutta on December 19th, 1938, was the first political pronouncement made by the Viceroy after his return to India. In it Lord Linlithgow emphasised the fact that provincial autonomy and federation are essentially parts one of the other. We know that considerable progress has been made in the shape of Instruments of Accession submitted in a practically final form to the Princes. Many important conferences have been held and no serious difficulty is anticipated in getting the minimum number of States to join in working the Federation scheme.

In the meantime, National India has entered its protest against the method by which the States are proposed to be represented in the Federal legislatures. It has been stated that in the Lower House the States will send 33½ per cent and in the Upper House 40 per cent of the total number of representatives, all of whom will be nominated by the Princes. Some critics go so far as to suggest that many, if not all,

* Address delivered at the Town Hall, Benares, 6th August, 1939.

will be not palace nominees but nominees of the British Government. With their nominated representatives and what is regarded as over-representation, the Princes may form a solid *bloc* which is likely to oppose the democratic and progressive elements representing British India. Then again, in case of a difference between the two Houses and of a joint sitting, the nominees of the Princes and the other unprogressive groups will find it quite easy to throw out any popular measure that may be introduced.

According to the second schedule in the Government of India Act, 1935, there cannot be any amendment of the Federal constitution until and unless the Princes agree to it. It is doubtful whether the Princes will ever be unanimous in agreeing to the demands of British India. Not only can they literally walk out of the legislature but they can prevent any measure from being passed into law. Whenever autonomous Indian provinces desire to introduce any progressive measure, they will have first to secure the consent of the Princes which, according to National India, will be difficult to obtain. For all practical purposes, the policy of the whole of autonomous India will be dictated by the Princes.

Federation under these circumstances will merely mean a set-back if not a total stoppage of India's march towards her ultimate goal either as an independent entity which is the dream of the extreme national section or, as an equal and honoured partner, with other members of the British Commonwealth, which seems to be the ideal of a less advanced section of Indian public opinion.

The position of National India therefore is that the Princes must give up the principle of nomination. They should also introduce responsible government in the States. There is no desire to do away with their Treaty rights but it is essential, according to one section at least, that "the paramountcy of the British Crown should be transferred to the Federal Ministers who are either responsible to the Crown or to the Federal legislature."

In recent times, popular agitation, ostensibly for "responsible government," has manifested itself not only in Mysore, Travancore and Hyderabad but also in certain small States of Bombay and Orissa. No distinction has been drawn between States that are comparatively well-governed and those that still cling to medieval methods, the result being that Hyderabad and Travancore have been placed on the same level as Rajkot and Ranpur.

It cannot, however, be denied that not only has political unrest grown persistent in the States but, what is more, it is growing in volume and intensity everywhere. In one instance at least—I am here referring to Ranpur—the agitation has led to most tragic results which merely demonstrate the risks attendant on political agitation among backward, ignorant and uneducated people. This instance is sufficient to prove that the introduction of responsible government in the States presupposes two things, *viz.*, the conversion of the rulers and the political education of the people concerned.

It is noteworthy that the demands made by the States people are not identical in character. As a matter of fact, though every one of them is a demand for a larger share in the administration of the States to which they belong, they vary in the kind and amount of relief sought. For instance, in progressive States like Mysore and Travancore, the people demand responsible government; in certain other States they demand good government and civil liberties; in still others they would be content with freedom from oppression and misrule, at least for the time being. It therefore follows that in framing these demands, the people have been more or less guided by the general level of administration in the States concerned.

It is denied by the spokesmen for these States that these movements are “spontaneous and independent.” The Indian National Congress has clearly stated that one of the reasons for its opposition to Federation is that the States will not be represented by elected members. The official attitude of the Congress is “to convert the Princes to the view that their true interests lie in voluntary surrender of power to the people.” It has disclaimed any connection with these activities but prominent Congress leaders like Mr. Vallabhai Patel have not shown much hesitation in offering advice to the leaders of these popular movements in the States and also occasionally in directing the movements themselves, of course in their personal capacity. Even Mahatma Gandhi has somehow been drawn into the agitation for responsible government in the States. Critics may well point out that this makes futile the claim of the Congress that non-intervention in regard to the affairs in the States is its settled policy.

I am aware that many Europeans and Indians regard with grave disapproval the struggle for responsible government carried on in many of the Indian States. I also know that they condemn those Congressmen who, in their individual capacity, are not only giving advice and

directing the activities of the States' peoples' associations but are also taking active part in the conflict between the Princes and their subjects. Some at least of the Congressmen feel that this amounts practically to going back on the official attitude of our great All-India national organisation which has pronounced in no uncertain voice its neutrality in this matter. It is also true that, here and there, have occurred incidents which give the direct lie to the contention that the struggle for responsible government in the States is always carried on non-violently.

While the truth of all this is admitted fully, we have to remember that but for these activities, objectionable though they may be from certain standpoints, the attention of the public would never have been drawn effectively to the highly undesirable conditions prevailing in a majority of the States. It was in 1853 that the "Times" which we have come to regard as the mouthpiece of the conservative party in England first drew the attention of the English public to the backward condition of the Indian States. The leaders of progressive movements in India have cried themselves hoarse in condemning the abuses prevailing in them. Nor has honest and fearless criticism from Englishmen and Englishwomen been wanting. If I had sufficient space at my disposal, I could have given here a very long string of quotations covering the whole of the period between 1853 and 1939, every one of which would have proved how backward these parts of India are and how a majority of the rulers have failed miserably in discharging their obligations towards their peoples.

One result of the pointed way in which the attention of the world at large has been drawn to the States has been that even Anglo-Indian papers which have very rarely been characterised by much sympathy for India's political and economic aspirations have been compelled to recognise the justice as well as the urgent necessity of introducing changes in the administration of the States.

Early in February, 1939, the "Statesman," regarded as the most important Anglo-Indian organ in North-East, if not the whole of India, commenting on the appalling conditions in many of the States said, "Unbridled power inherited from generation to generation has throughout history led to tyranny, corruption and degradation of the worst kind." Continuing it observed, "These States are not merely examples of bad landlordism. The bad landlords, as well as the good ones, are subject to no laws; they have the power of life and death;

there are no obstacles to their greed or lust, or cruelty; if they are greedy, vicious or cruel."

National India feels that they are a disgrace to the British Government and that though they have been known to be such, the Paramount Power has very rarely utilised those powers it undoubtedly possesses in removing this blot on the fair name of Britain. On the other hand, on more occasions than one, it has shown by its actions that it resents any adverse criticism on this subject. Commenting on this particular aspect of the problem, the "Statesman" observed in the same article, "If the Paramount Power is for ever to have an obligation of 'honour' to defend the indefensible, then some day an irresistible force will encounter an immovable object and, according to the classic answer to this problem, something will go to smithereens."

Some of the larger and more important Indian States are excluded by the "Statesman" from the category of those criticised by it. Undoubtedly there are some Indian States which are administered better than the rest. But they are very few in number and, even in them, it cannot be said truly that things are as good as they are in our autonomous provinces though, here too, they might be better. Recent events in Travancore, Hyderabad, and Kashmir, to mention only the largest and the most important States, have proved that all is not well with them. Neither is it correct to assume that the almost simultaneous agitation in States, separated by thousands of miles is being fomented by the Congress or Congressmen. Granting for the sake of argument that the Congress is the evil genius it is supposed to be, nationalists contend that no political agitation which involves all kinds of suffering can be fomented in the absence of genuine and long resented grievances. I intentionally make no reference whatsoever to the conditions prevailing in almost all the smaller States whose administration is admittedly bad.

It is not, however, quite unfair to assume that the demands for reform in the States are a repercussion of the establishment of provincial autonomy in British India. Such a profoundly radical change is bound to lead to unfavourable comparisons between the position of the citizens of British India and those of States India and to the desire of the latter to have more power in shaping their political destiny.

According to the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee for September 17, 1931, Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have said,

“ After all there is no vital, real division between these two Indias (British and States India). If one can divide a living body into two parts, you may divide India into two parts. It has lived as one country from time immemorial and no artificial boundary can possibly divide it.” It is this fact, the correctness of which no one can deny, which inclines me to believe that the agitation, even if fomented by some leaders of the Congress for the definite purpose of compelling the Princes to send elected representatives to the Federal Legislature, is not an artificial one. The national awakening has come: the seeds were sown long ago. Taking the most uncharitable view of the activities of Congressmen like Mr. Vallabhai Patel, all that can be said with justice is that they have watered these seeds but they would never have germinated if the soil was not fertile and the seeds absent.

The next question which should interest us is how are the different States facing the present situation. Some have already introduced reforms or appointed committees to consider the question of constitutional reforms. Others, less wise in their generation, have denied the representative character of the sponsors of these movements or the existence of misgovernment which can be their only justification and affirmed the presence of civil liberties. Others, totally blind to the signs of the times, have questioned the genuineness of the agitation, abused the leaders and have tried to cloud the real issues by indiscriminate mud-slinging. These last are apparently forgetting that the unworthiness of the popular leaders is no justification for the existence of well-known abuses in certain of the States, a detailed examination of which is not called for here.

It has to be admitted that this States agitation has disturbed some of the Princes to such an extent that they have expressed their doubts as to the desirability of federating with British India. If they are wise, they should not overlook the fact that the old policy of segregating themselves is bound to be futile. What guarantee is there that, by staying outside Federated India, their States will be immune from the kind of political agitation which is now rampant within their borders? On the other hand, it may be suggested that the States are likely to be safer within rather than outside Federation. So far as the smaller and less prosperous States are concerned there is, I understand, a proposal to combine their resources in order to finance the kind of representative institutions demanded by their people. The Princes

should remember that their people are still looking up to them for what they want. Their traditional loyalty to their rulers is proved by the fact that, up to the present, they have not launched any organised campaign against the Princes as such. Refusal to remove at least some of the grievances may lead to deplorable results and the ultimate break-down of Federation altogether. ✓

The position of the Congress ministries in British autonomous provinces is peculiar. Self-governing to a very large extent, they have not been able to make up their minds as to their line of action. It is not perhaps incorrect to assume that, in most cases, the ministries sympathise with the States people and that, with their hands tied, they are not in a position to give them active help in any form. The organisation to which they belong is precluded from participation in the agitation though individual Congressmen have been permitted to do so and, in fact, have been actually doing so. Mahatma Gandhi has made it clear that the dissociation of the Congress from States affairs is not due to lack of sympathy for the political aspirations of the States people. They are, as it were, put on their mettle to secure through their own efforts what, it is held, has been already achieved by people in British India. The position may be logical but it has to be admitted that, in at least some of the States, political agitation would not have assumed their present proportions or intensity but for the moral support, if nothing else, of Congress leaders from outside. The Congress again finds in this agitation one of its best arguments against Federation as envisaged in the Government of India Act, 1935, and feels that it would be making a serious tactical blunder if it does not utilise the present condition of the States to the utmost in discrediting a proposal so unwelcome to it.

The position of the British Government is bristling with serious difficulties. No one can deny that it is sincerely desirous that Federation according to the Government of India Act, 1935, should be introduced in India. To this end, it has tried its best to meet the wishes of the different States as much as possible. In the Calcutta speech already referred to, the Viceroy stated, "We have done all that lay in our power to apply a just judgment to the points which have been raised by individual States in connection with their accession to Federation and to find the wise and appropriate solution of those points; and we have, at all times, kept before us the ideal of the unity of India."

The British Government understands that Federation is not possible unless there is peace inside the States. It also appreciates the corollary following from this proposition, namely that at this stage in the development of the political sense of India, this much-desired peace cannot be secured unless the Princes make the necessary concessions to popular demands. At the same time, it realises that in making these concessions, the Princes must not go too far. There is no doubt that the Federal legislature has been constituted in such a way that the Princes, or rather their nominees, with the other ultra-conservative elements are meant to act as obstructions to the progressive forces of Indian nationalism which will most probably be marshalled under Congress direction. Only this can explain the disproportionate weightage given to the Indian States.

Undoubtedly many of the Princes have been chafing at the control exercised on them for generations by the British agents. It is not even remotely suggested that these agents in each and every case abused their position to wantonly interfere in the day-to-day administrative work of the States. I personally know of more than one State where such intervention was not only desirable but absolutely essential for the well-being of the States people themselves. At the same time, let us also be prepared to admit that almost autocratic power has been utilised now and again in ways calculated to needlessly cause misunderstanding and friction. Again I do not suggest that such abuse of power was due to the desire of simply making the Princes concerned realise their position as vassals of Britain. There have been still other occasions when interference was called for by the unfitness of some of the Princes to hold the position to which they had been born. These Princes are not so helpless as they were in the past. They have now learnt to organise themselves into a united and powerful body. Many of them have been taking important parts in the administration of their States. The British Government cannot welcome the taking of any step which is likely to offend their sense of self-respect. This difficulty was sought to be solved by a disclaimer on the part of the British Government that it would not put any kind of pressure on the Princes as regards the kind or amount of reform which they would introduce within their States. The pronouncement of the Viceroy on this matter is worth quoting and is as follows: "While the advice and assistance of the Paramount Power is always available to Rulers, it must rest with the Rulers themselves to decide

what form of Government they should adopt in the diverse conditions of Indian States." And, as the Secretary of State has made clear some time ago, "while the Paramount Power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by Rulers, His Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing any form of pressure to bear upon them to initiate constitutional changes."

But even here there is still another difficulty. One may well enquire what the British Government proposes to do, supposing for one moment that the Princes refuse to grant any concession in any shape in any one of the States. Such a position is, I know, unthinkable. If, however, such a state of affairs actually comes to pass, the Princes would play into the hands of the extremists of the Congress Left. This section of the Congress would in this way be able to immediately bring about a nation-wide struggle. Not only would the old bad days return but all the progress made so far would be lost and when peace is restored, we shall have to build again from the foundations upwards.

Recently, some of the States have attempted to improve their administration specially in the direction of discarding age-old customs which have, up till now, formed the basis of their financial system. It should, however, be realised that such reforms barely touch the fringe of the problem. It is also perhaps correct to assume that a majority of the Princes are willing to modernise their administration on lines that suit what they consider their particular needs and the long established traditions of their States. This change of heart, which political India considers has not gone far enough, is due to their realisation of the fact that their people are in a position to obtain by pressure, whether applied directly or otherwise, a greater say in the administration. It may be that in some of the more politically backward and less educated States, it is possible to satisfy the people by offering them a small instalment of the reforms due long ago, but there is little doubt that the constant interchange of population, the study of journals published in our part of the motherland, the first-hand experience of the political powers enjoyed by the common people in British India—all these and other factors which are persistently thrusting themselves into their notice can have only one effect, *viz.*, that the popular demand will ever be on the increase and that it will have to be satisfied.

Probably many of the Princes have failed to appreciate the fact that in the self-governing provinces, though British power is there all

the time, it does not function except in the last resort. They do not realise that if this power remains unused for a sufficiently long period of time, its use will go by default, and also that in the event of the British Government attempting its use, there is bound to be such a hue and cry that the British, always practical politicians, will cease trying to utilise a power which has lapsed through disuse. Some people of the self-governing provinces who may be said to have attained political majority are helping the States people openly while nearly all, if not all, the people of British India would like to see their brothers enjoying privileges similar to those which they are themselves enjoying. For the Princes to rely on the British Government to fight popular movements is not a sign of wisdom. The Political Department can and will do much, but it will never, for the sake of pleasing the States, alienate autonomous India. Then, again, the stronger national solidarity grows in British India, the smaller will be the British help available in the States.

There is not the slightest doubt that Federation will come ultimately and also that it will not be a Federation of the provinces of British India only but also of the States. It is also equally certain that the Princes will have to part with some of the enormous powers they now enjoy. This giving up of powers may be brought about by the good sense and the statesmanship of the Princes themselves, by pressure applied secretly by the British Government or by direct action taken by the States people themselves. It is not likely that responsible government, as we understand it in British India, will be introduced on the eve of Federation. It is more likely that it will come in stages but it is equally likely that, in view of the progress already made by British India, large concessions will have to be given to the States people as a first instalment of the self-government that they are to receive later. Probably the rate of progress in matters political will have to be quicker in the States than it has hitherto been in British India. Whatever this rate, there is no doubt that the ultimate aim of all the Indian States is constitutional monarchy fired with Indian nationalism and working in thorough co-operation with the autonomous provinces of British India for the realisation of common national aims. No one, Indian Prince or the British Government, can expect to put off this much desired realisation of nationalistic aspirations except perhaps for a few years. Neither false notions of prestige on the part of the Princes or the very human failing of un-

willingness to voluntarily surrender power enjoyed for centuries on the part of the British Government should be allowed to obscure the very clear evidence we have in favour of Federation along national lines. It would be wise if the Princes assess existing political forces properly and gracefully yield what is destined sooner or later to be wrested from their unwilling hands; for thus and thus only can they retain the position of leadership to which they are entitled by their birth and position. Let the obstacles to Federation come, if they must at all, not from the selfishness of our own flesh and blood but from foreigners the amount of whose consideration for us we shall measure by the amount of sacrifice they are prepared to undergo for our political uplift.

AIR-RAID PRECAUTIONS¹

M. I. D. MUFTI, M.S.E. (Eng.), A.M.I. STRUCT. E.

Military Engineer Services, Fort William, Calcutta.

INTRODUCTION

THIS paper is an attempt to give an unprejudiced account of Air-Raid Precautions and to describe the essential facts of gas and anti-gas measures. It is hoped to present it, as far as possible, in a non-technical form by giving a general review of the subject.

The main defence of a country is Active Defence such as the Air-force, Artillery, etc. In war-time, however, some of the attacking enemy aircraft will get through the defences and interfere with the normal life and work of the people. It is, therefore, necessary that the civil population and other services should be prepared and organised so that they may know what to do when an emergency arises.

HISTORICAL

The ordinary man's horror of an Air-Raid is chiefly due to its being new and unfamiliar. When guns were first used about six hundred years ago, the same things were said about them as are now said about gas. People said that guns were cowardly and inhuman, and that Valiant Knights did not approve of them. They have said the same things about gas warfare, but gas warfare has now come to stay.

As Science becomes more popular, an increasing number of people object to being told to do anything without also being told why they should do it, and it is chiefly for this reason that Appendix A on general principles has been added.

Gas warfare was started on 22nd April, 1915, when at 5 o'clock in the evening the Germans let off from their trenches a cloud of Chlorine Gas which was carried by the wind over the allied lines. The effect was astonishing—the troops, having no respirators, were quite unable to resist the gas and casualties were heavy. The second and only other important date in the history of Gas Warfare is 12th July,

* Address before the Rotary Club of Calcutta on Tuesday, 8th August, 1939.

1917, when Mustard Gas was used for the first time by the Germans. 50,000 Gas Shells amounting to 125 tons of Mustard were fired on to the Allied troops, resulting in 2,500 casualties with 87 deaths and that in the next three weeks one million gas shells amounting to 2,500 tons of mustard gas were put over, resulting in 15,000 casualties, with only 500 deaths. One can realise how comparatively ineffective the use of gas can be against disciplined personnel. The above facts, therefore, merely accentuate the importance of training the people as to what they should do during an Air-Raid, and of teaching them necessity for refusing to panic and taking all other possible precautions.

We are all familiar with fire and to some extent with explosives even if only in the form of fire-works, and we can all visualize the gross mechanical effect of a bullet or flying fragment of metal. But war gases are remote from an ordinary man's experience and less easy to understand. Nevertheless, it is of the utmost importance that as many people as possible should make an effort to understand gas defence, because by so doing they make an attack less likely. Though it may not be possible to make the houses fire- and explosive-proof, they can certainly be made reasonably gas-proof. It is the duty of the head of the family to study gas defence, or to see that there is at least one member of the household familiar with the subject.

THE WEAPONS OF AERIAL WARFARE

In order to get a clear conception of the problem of Air-Raid Precautions, it is necessary to study the weapons which may be used in aerial warfare, the forces exerted by them and their effects. They are:—

- (i) High explosive bombs.
- (ii) Incendiary bombs.
- (iii) Gas bombs and gas spray.
- (iv) Machine-gun fire and Anti-aircraft fragments.
- (v) Combination of all these.

The consequential effects of these attacks may be:—

- (i) The collapse of buildings and their contents. This involves, in addition to the things to be protected:—
 - (a) The safety of rescue parties, and
 - (b) The stability of damaged buildings until repairs are carried out.

(ii) The necessity for protection :—

- (a) To provide a measure of protection for human life at work and also in shelter.
- (b) Machinery and plant in operation, *i.e.*, telephone exchange, power house, etc.
- (c) Valuable records and documents.

(iii) The protection may be required in :—

- (a) Existing buildings.
- (b) Independent shelters.
- (c) New Buildings.

EFFECTS OF FORCES EXERTED BY HIGH EXPLOSIVE BOMBS

High explosive bombs normally weigh from 20 lbs. to 2000 lbs. and possibly more. These bombs carry a high explosion charge, and are used to do damage to personnel and building. This is caused by :—

(i) Fragmentation.—The bomb casing splits up into numerous small pieces, which damage material and personnel in the vicinity. Splinters can cause death to people as far as 400 yards away, and cause enormous loss of life when a bomb falls in a crowded street.

(ii) Blast—Produced when a bomb bursts either in the open, after penetration into a building or soft ground. Blast interferes with anti-gas measures by bursting in doors and windows, etc. The general effect of such a bomb exploding under ground is similar to that of a mined charge.

(iii) Penetration.—The bombs may be fitted with Armour-piercing noses and with delay action.

The Armour-piercing bomb and semi-Armour-piercing bomb are specially designed for attacking very highly resistant targets, so that against ordinary structures the use of the lighter-case bomb may be expected, though the semi-Armour-piercing bomb may occasionally be used as well.

EFFECTS OF FORCES EXERTED BY INCENDIARY BOMBS

Incendiary Bombs.—These are small, varying from 2 lbs. 3 oz. up to about 60 lbs.

(i) The smaller ones are likely to be used, as the numerical load can thereby be greater and widespread fires can be started in different parts of a city. The bomb is filled with incendiary compounds (principally thermite) which are ignited when it strikes its target. The case of the bomb is either of aluminium or of electron, an inflammable alloy of magnesium, aluminium and zinc.

(ii) The force of descent is sufficient to penetrate slates, tiles and other thin roofs. The bombs are sometimes fitted with armour-piercing noses. These are dangerous against stores containing inflammable materials.

The penetrative power of an incendiary bomb is usually less than that of a high explosive bomb of an equal weight. A concrete roof about 5 inches thick will protect against a direct hit from a 20 lbs. bomb.

(iii) Incendiary bombs cannot be extinguished by ordinary means. Attempts to extinguish them with water (except by means of a fine spray) or chemical extinguishers may cause an explosion. Smothering with sand or earth is an effective means of controlling the bomb.

EFFECT OF GAS BOMBS AND GAS SPRAY

(i) Gas bombs may weigh up from 20 lbs. to 60 lbs. though normally they will probably be smaller. They contain more than half their weight of gas. Two types of gas are used—non-persistent, such as Chlorine and Phosgene, and persistent, such as Mustard Gas.

Non-persistent gases begin to diffuse from the moment they are released and non-persistent gas bombs are thus not very likely to be used. Persistent gases, on the other hand, may be a source of danger for a considerable time and will probably be the normal filling for gas bombs. Mustard Gas, for example, which is released in liquid form and vaporized slowly under the influence of the weather, is absorbed by porous materials, including bricks and concrete, and remains a source of danger until decontaminated or until it "weathers."

(ii) The gas may be sprayed directly from aircraft. A drop will penetrate thick clothing in about ten minutes and anti-gas clothing in about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours. A single drop of blister gas, however small, in the eye will produce blindness.

The most important fact is that everyone who has not a duty to perform should remain in a shelter during an Air-Raid while those on

duty should have protection from Machine-gun fire and Anti-aircraft fragments.

COMBINATIONS OF THE ABOVE, *e.g.*, HIGH EXPLOSIVE GAS, AND INCENDIARY MATERIALS

(i) High explosive, gas and incendiary materials may be mixed in one attack so as to produce the maximum effect and catch people unawares.

A possible method of attack would be:—

(ii) High explosive bombs to create panic and to destroy or interfere with utility services, such as lights, water-supply, etc.

(iii) Incendiary bombs to start numerous fires and to drive every body out into the street ; and finally,

(iv) A gas spray or bomb attack when everything is disorganised and everybody is rushing about in the open.

PROTECTION AGAINST AIR ATTACK

(i) It may be that we shall never have to defend ourselves against Air attack, but it would be unwise not to get ready now. We cannot count on a long warning of such an attack because the enemy's chief hope of success might be based on a sudden paralysing stroke.

(ii) The main line of defence of the civilian is within buildings, and as near as possible to their works, offices and factories.

PROTECTION AGAINST HIGH EXPLOSIVE BOMBS

(i) The standard of protection which should be adopted is against the effects of a 500 lbs. bomb bursting 50 feet away.

(ii) Protection against direct hits is difficult in present type of buildings, as an armour-piercing 500 lbs. bomb will pass through many feet of concrete. We should, therefore, only protect against splinters and blast and reduce the danger as much as possible, for if the results of an attack were only confined to direct hits, then bombing raids would not be sufficiently profitable and would cease.

PROTECTION AGAINST INCENDIARY BOMBS

(i) These are difficult to extinguish as they burn under water. According to their size these bombs may continue to burn for anything

from 7 to 20 minutes, but it has been found that if water is applied by an $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch jet, the combustion of the bomb can be so accelerated that it will burn out in about two minutes. The surroundings must at the same time be protected against catching fire.

(ii) The burning of an incendiary bomb can also be controlled by covering it with dry sand. Dark glasses, such as those used for welding, must be used when approaching a burning incendiary bomb, and a shield $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter and of a light metal or asbestos should be used.

(iii) Gumboots or wet sacking should be worn as protection to the legs and ankles. It should be noted that the chances of fires can considerably be reduced if following precautions are taken:—

(a) Remove all inflammable materials from top floors and sub-roof spaces.

(b) Treat all wood work with either lime wash (three coats) or fire-proofing paint.

(c) To make fire-proof floors cover either with asbestos or with thin iron sheets and cover the sheets with 2 inches thick dry sand. The bomb will burn out harmlessly on this. A 5-inch thick concrete roof will probably resist penetration.

PROTECTION AGAINST GAS

(i) Protection against gas falls under two heads—protection of people and protection of buildings. The protection of people involves rendering some portion of building gas-proof and the provision of facilities for the Anti-Gas treatment of casualties.

(ii) The following method may be adopted with the object of making a room gas-proof: The idea of the gas-proof room is simply to close up all openings to the outside air, or by maintaining a slight positive pressure of air in the room so that any leakage is from the inside outwards. This is achieved by the installation in the room of an air filtration plant, which delivers sufficient pure air to maintain a continuous over-pressure.

(iii) The protection of buildings from the effects of gas and action of gas on various building materials is given in Appendix B.

(iv) The ordinary respirators will afford protection against inhaling the gases, but mustard gas requires the whole of the body to be protected. See Appendix A *re* Mustard Gas.

(v) It has been said that the water vapour in the breathed air is the chief factor which determines how long people can live in a closed space. The water vapour tends to condense on the walls and ceiling of the room, which are relatively cold, and it is the area of these which is important in estimating how many people a gas-proof room can actually accommodate for a given time. Experiment has shown that in normal weather 100 sq. feet of wall and ceiling area per person is sufficient for twelve hours.

(vi) Table showing the number of people to be accommodated for 12 hours :

<i>Size of Room.</i>	<i>Number of Persons.</i>
10 ft. × 10 ft. × 8 ft.	5
15 ft. × 10 ft. × 8 ft.	7
20 ft. × 15 ft. × 10 ft.	13
30 ft. × 15 ft. × 12 ft.	20

(vii) A large number of people could, of course, be accommodated in the rooms for less than twelve hours. These figures can only be used as a rough guide because the amount of condensation depends to some extent on the nature of the ceiling and walls and upon the temperature outside. It may be useful here to introduce the term *air-lock*. This consists of a close space with two doors, one opening to the outside air, and the other to the inside of the room or house. The advantage of this arrangement is that when a person enters the space, or air-lock, by one door and shuts it before opening the other, he can enter or leave the room or house with minimum of exchange of air between the outside or inside. Gas can be kept out of the room or house by sealing up the outside ventilators below the ground floor, closing all doors and windows, putting out all fires, closing up the chimneys. The method of sealing doors, windows and chimneys will be as detailed below.

(viii) Decide the way of entering and leaving the house, preferably through some room or lobby which can be shut off from the rest of the house so as to act as an air-lock, and provide a place where contaminated boots and clothing can be taken off or left. It is also desirable to keep the hot water supply working but not central heating

because this latter will tend to increase the general upward circulation of air through the house.

(ix) The gas-proofing is largely a matter of commonsense with the application of a few general principles as referred to above.

(x) It must be remembered that high explosive bombs have to be considered as well as gas, so that those who have a cellar may choose this provided it has a window or a second door which will serve as an exit in case the ordinary entrance should be blocked by debris. If a cellar is not available in an house, a ground floor room should be chosen, because it affords better protection from flying fragments of explosive bombs than an upstairs room. The room chosen should be on the far side of the house away from the prevailing wind which in most parts of Calcutta is South-West. *It is desirable that the rooms should be fitted with electric light and piped water supply.*

(xi) Having chosen the room the preparation is as follows:—

(1) Seal the outside ventilators to the space between the ground floor. This can be done by pressing a folded newspaper against the opening with wooden fillets held in place by a wooden strut on an angle of about 45°.

(2) Close the wooden shutters of the windows from the outside so as to prevent glass splinters.

If windows are not provided with shuttering the glass may be protected by pasting thick paper on the inside, to prevent the glass being shattered by blast or splinters from a high explosive bomb. Fasten thick curtains or blankets on the inside of windows. This can be done with tacks or drawing pins, or a better way is to put wooden fillets outside the blanket and nail them over the wooden frame of the window.

(3) The outside doors can also be protected by rugs, blankets or thick curtain. The blankets, etc., should be long enough to leave an inch or two lying on the floor. Stop up the key-hole.

(4) The fire must be put out and the chimney blocked up with sacking or newspapers, or covering the front of the fire place with a sheet.

(5) Fill up the gap between the skirting boards and floor either by sealing the fillets or by blocking the space with newspapers.

(xii) It is advisable to store the following things inside the

gas-proof room as we have to stay in there for about ten to twelve hours. The articles to be provided are:—

- (a) Food and water.
- (b) Plates, knives and other utensils required.
- (c) Sanitary fittings: Sinks, W. C., etc.
- (d) Electric torches, candles, or small lamps and matches.
- (e) Amusements, such as cards, newspapers and indoor games.
- (f) Easy chair, pillows, etc.
- (g) Bleaching powder and bleaching ointment.
- (h) Spare blanket and old newspapers.
- (i) Respirator, protective clothing, etc.
- (j) Fire-extinguishing apparatus or sufficient amount of sand or earth.

(xiii) Before going into the gas-proof room the food in the house should be protected from gas by placing it in closed jars or tins. There can be no certainty as to how much warning of an actual attack may be expected.

(xiv) Warning of an actual Air-Raid on the way.—This is likely to be half an hour approximately before planes arrive.

If in such emergency cases you are unable to get home within half an hour, the best plan would be to remain in the office or factory. If you are out in the open when the actual raid arrives, it is essential to get under some cover immediately so as to avoid being hurt by fragments of anti-aircraft shells and to prevent the risk of your clothing being splashed with mustard gas. It is also important that people should keep as calm as possible and obey the instructions of the police; otherwise congestion will occur, which will not only add to the chance of casualties but interfere with the putting out of fire and evacuation of the wounded.

CONCLUSION

To master the technique of dealing with the Air-Raid problem, a thorough knowledge of the protective measures is necessary. Some people seem to hope that gas may be banned by international agreement. There is no harm in such a hope so long as it does not tempt us to neglect defensive precautions.

CRCV 639(1)

APPENDIX A

KINDS OF GASES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON HUMAN BEINGS, ANIMALS
AND WEAPONS

1. It is usual to divide gases into two main groups :

(i) Non-persistent gases are true gases or minute particles of solids which are readily diffused, or dispersed by wind.

(ii) Persistent gases are those normally in a liquid form which give off vapour, for hours or even days.

2. Persistence of a gas varies greatly with the manner in which it is released and with the weather and the ground.

3. Gases are classified according to the effects on the body as—

(i) those that affect eyes only (Tear gases),

(ii) those that affect nose and throat (Nose gases),

(iii) those that affect throat and lungs (Choking gases),

(iv) those that affect skin (Blister gases).

Sometimes they overlap and belong to two or even three of the above classes.

The following are the principal gases that have been used up to date:—

CHLORINE (CHOKING)

(a) Chlorine has a smell somewhat resembling that of chloride of lime (bleaching powder). It has an immediate irritant effect on the nose, throat, and lungs, but it does not attack the skin. It will seriously damage the lungs and cause death if breathed for any length of time.

PHOSGENE (CHOKING)

(b) This is a true gas in summer and a liquid in winter. It is non-persistent. Phosgene has a pungent smell said to resemble that of musty hay. It has an immediate irritant effect on the eyes and throat and if breathed attacks the lungs.

This is nearly ten times as effective as chlorine and has the advantage of a delayed action. It is said that one part of phosgene in a hundred thousand of air is enough to incapacitate an unprotected person.

CRCU 639 (M) 120618

D. A. AND D. M. (NOSE)

(c) These are so similar that they may be described together. These are extremely poisonous, but owing to their high boiling points can only be got into the air in the form of smoke particles. These are non-persistent. The effect of smoke is most unpleasant. Produces sneezing, a burning pain in the chest, throat, nose and mouth with great mental depression. All these curious effects, however, pass off gradually after leaving the gased area, and no permanent injury results.

MUSTARD GAS.

This is a thin oily liquid, heavier than water and boils at 217°C. It has only a slight smell, said by some to resemble garlic, but people who smoke heavily can hardly smell it at all. The liquid is usually dark-brown to straw-yellow.

It has no immediate effect. It is soluble in oil and spirits, neutralized by bleaching, has a great power of penetration and a high freezing point.

Effects:—

(a) Liquid—

(i) In eyes, immediate irritation, eye closed in about one hour, permanent blindness.

(ii) On skin, no irritation, redness in two hours followed by blister in 12 to 24 hours.

(b) Vapour—

(i) In eyes, irritation and inflammation with swelling and temporary loss of vision, usually develops within 24 hours, but earlier if the vapour concentration is high.

(ii) In lungs, loss of voice and coughing.

(iii) On skin, redness, irritation and perhaps blisters, but to an unprotected man, the eye damage is worse than the lung or skin effects. The effect of swallowing food contaminated by liquid mustard gas is severe injury to the stomach and intestines.

Mustard gas is likely to play a large part in future wars.

LEWISITE

This substance was not used in the last War. It is an American discovery.

A colourless liquid which gives off an invisible gas. It is rapidly destroyed by water and any alkali, penetrates materials in the same way as mustard gas. It has a low freezing point and is persistent.

Method of recognition—Smell of geraniums, powerful smell.

Effects :—

(a) Liquid—

(i) In eyes, immediate effect and permanent injury.

(ii) On skin, blister develops more rapidly than with mustard gas—tingling sensation.

(b) Vapour—

Causes severe irritation to nose, hence respirator will be adjusted immediately so that there will be no permanent effects on eyes, nose, or lungs. It has a much quicker effect on the skin than mustard vapour. Effects appear in 1 to 3 hours.

It may be used in future wars with mustard gas, to disguise the presence of the latter.

TEAR GASES

(a)

(b)

(c)

(K. S. K.) (C. A. P.) and (B. B. C.)

These, of course, produce tears—not milk, as some one suggested.

Though they affect the eyes, they are not poisonous in ordinary concentration.

These gases are used for testing the fit of respirators, and sometimes for dispersing rioters.

Minute solid particles almost invisible.

Effects.—Irritation to eyes and nose, non-persistent. Copious flow of tears and spasm of eyelids, slight skin irritation.

Effects appear immediately and cease on removal from the gas area.

APPENDIX B

1. AFTER THE ATTACK

After the actual aerial attack is over, air-raid precautions must be continued until it is known that the area is free from further attack. Specially, contamination parties should be arranged whose duty it would be to clear up any area affected with persistent gases. The rescue parties should be equipped with protecting clothing and necessary material and should tell the householders when it is safe for them to leave their houses.

2. TREATMENT OF CASUALTIES

(1) Casualties may be caused either by persistent or by non-persistent gases or by a mixture of both.

(2) The majority of casualties will be caused by high explosive and/or incendiary burns.

(3) Careful inquiry into such cases may be necessary before the decision can be made for treatment.

(4) The severity of the injuries caused by gases, etc., depends on—

- (i) the concentration,
- (ii) the amount inhaled,
- (iii) the duration of the exposure ;

therefore, firstly, every effort must be made to make gased men keep their respirators on whether or not they are suffering discomfort, and secondly, such men must be removed from the gased area as quickly as possible.

(5) Casualties should be treated within 15 to 20 minutes, or within 5 minutes if liquid spray has been used with its resulting damage to the eyes of an individual.

3. TREATMENT OF NON-PERSISTENT GASES CASUALTIES

(1) Any one suffering from gas requires as much rest as possible, all exercise must be avoided.

(2) Smoking must not be allowed.

(3) Artificial respiration must not be attempted, except in cases that have ceased to breathe because respiration should be as quiet and easy as possible.

(4) Alcoholic stimulants must not be given, because they cause quicker respiration.

(5) Water, tea or warm milk may be given.

(6) The eyes, if affected, should be washed with clear water or with water containing one tea-spoonful of common salt to one pint.

4. TREATMENT OF MUSTARD GAS

(1) Those resulting from mustard gas vapour:

When burns on the skin or eyes effected by vapour of mustard gas become apparent, the casualties must then be evacuated to the medical services.

(2) Those resulting from contact with the liquid or with contaminated material:

If any one has been in contact with liquid mustard gas, his clothing must be removed. Liquid mustard gas penetrates serge clothing in ten minutes.

5. SKIN CASES

(1) Apply protective ointment, rub it well into the skin, and wipe it off after three minutes.

(2) Swab the affected part with paraffin, petrol or methylated spirit, taking care to destroy the swabs and to prevent the liquid running over the other parts.

(3) Scrub with soap and water until the skin turns pink.

6. MUSTARD GAS BLISTERS

If blister develops, it should on no account be broken but should be tightly covered until treated by a doctor.

7. TREATMENT OF LEWISITE CASUALTIES

The effects of this gas are more rapid than those of mustard gas, and consequently it is of the greatest importance that treatment should be put in hand immediately after contamination.

(i) *Vapour*—

Remove clothing and give a hot bath with plenty of soap and water. Eyes, nose, and throat should be irrigated with sodium bicarbonate solution.

(ii) *Liquid*—

The same treatment as for mustard gas.

8. TREATMENT FOR ANIMALS

(1) Protective ointment is of value against blister gases when applied to the feet and legs of animals, before they cross a contaminated area.

(2) The ointment and bleach paste are irritant, they should be washed off within half an hour of application.

9. FOOD

The food, if suspected of being contaminated, should be buried or destroyed by burning.

10. CLOTHING

(1) If contaminated by the vapour, clothing should be exposed to the air in the open from two to twenty-four hours or until the smell of the gas disappears. Washable articles may be boiled for fifteen to twenty minutes.

(2) If clothing are contaminated by the liquid, cotton and linens should be boiled for thirty to fifty minutes in water containing two ounces of washing soda to the gallon. Water-proof or rubber articles should be boiled in plain water for two hours. Leather articles must not be boiled but may be decontaminated by being heated in dry air for about eight hours. Woollen clothes should be disinfected in a steam disinfecter.

(3) Articles not required may be burnt or buried.

11. WALLS

External walls should be left to the weather to cure. Internal walls should be treated with bleaching powder paste and covered with sheets of newspaper. This will stick to the paste. When the first layer is dried, a second coat of paste and paper may be added.

12. WOODEN FLOOR

Any actual liquid should be soaked up in earth and sand or sawdust, which should afterwards be buried or burnt. After removal of free liquid, scrub the floor with paste of bleaching powder and water using a long handled brush. Do not wash the floor until the paste is dry. The same process may be repeated if found necessary. If the wood is heavily contaminated by mustard gas, no cure will be effected and it should therefore be burnt.

13. ROADS, CONCRETE OR TARRED

If it is not possible to wash the concrete, it should be covered with dry bleaching powder ; leave for several hours and repeat the same process until all traces of gas have been destroyed.

14. PAINTED WALLS

These can be washed with bleaching powder, soap and water, but if mustard gas has penetrated through paint, it is difficult to remove. The only remedy is to remove the paint.

APPENDIX C

DECONTAMINATION

1. Speed is essential in all such work, for the longer the delay before decontamination is carried out, the deeper will the contamination penetrate and the longer will the contaminated substance remain as a danger to all concerned.

The best method of decontamination depends upon—

- (i) the type of material to be decontaminated,
- (ii) the amount of contamination present,
- (iii) the degree of danger arising to the public from such contamination, and
- (iv) the material required and the facilities available for such work.

DECONTAMINATION SQUADS

2. Each squad should consist of one leader and 9 men. The number of squads in a sub-area will depend on its size. The men should be provided with respirators and suitable full protective clothing, as they may be subject to contamination both from the ground and from sprays.

EQUIPMENT FOR DECONTAMINATION SQUADS

Spades, picks, buckets, long handled brushes, hose pipes, and nozzles with union to fit water-hydrants, sacks and bleaching powder.

They will also require paraffin, bleach vaseline ointment, cotton waste, danger gas boards, iron bins for receiving contaminated clothing and contaminated waste, etc.

APPENDIX D

RESPIRATORS

1. An anti-gas respirator is essentially an air fitter. But it does not manufacture fresh air from gas. All war gases which are heavier than air are stopped, but lighter gases such as Carbon-monoxide will pass through. The respirators offer no protection against this gas.

2. There are three types of Anti-Gas respirators in use at present:—

- (a) The General Service Respirator,
- (b) The Civilian Duty Respirator, and
- (c) The Civilian Respirator.

3. In the General Service type the fitter box is smaller and in the form of a drum attached direct to the face-piece. The face-piece is of plain rubber and is fitted with a simple form of outlet valve.

4. The Civilian Respirator.—This differs from the Civilian Duty type in two respects:—

- (i) It is provided with a rectangular window of thick cellophane in place of glass eye-pieces, and

- (ii) It has a more flexible rubber face-piece which enables the outlet valve to be dispensed with, because the pressure of the expelled air is able to lift the edge of the face-piece and so pass out between it and the face.

5. The different types of respirators will be required in accordance with the nature and amount of work expected to be performed in affected areas.

For children a special type of respirator is required and is designed.

For babies a gas-proof bag which can be ventilated through a suitable fitter by means of a bellows.

6. It is not safe to wear a respirator over spectacles, unless they have thin metal frames.

7. The respirator only protects eyes, lungs and face, and people who have to work in areas infected with blister gases need also protective clothing.

This consists of thick rubber gumboots, oilskin coat and trousers, oilskin gloves and an oilskin hood which fits closely round the face.

Wearing a respirator and dressed in this clothing, a man has practically no contact with the outside air. Unfortunately, as there is no ventilation, evaporation from the skin cannot take place, so that a man wearing full protective clothing can only work for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, in a climate like Calcutta. If he tries to work longer, he will collapse from heat stroke.

EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORDER *

HUMAYUN Z. A. KABIR

IT is for me a great pleasure and privilege to be with you here today and I thank you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside. It is not for me to raise any questions about the wisdom of your choice and such questionings are raised only because of our obsession with the importance of the individual. The moment we realise that individuality is based upon the conflict and union of various forces in society, we shall also know that the individual derives his value from his social significance. As one of your representatives, as a function of the social forces of which we are all products, I accepted your invitation with pleasure and gratitude.

It is about this social significance that I want to speak to you today, and of the place which an active student organisation must have in that scheme. Often we are told that the student must live detached from the turmoils of the world. He must not entangle himself in the stress and struggle of daily life but live in a palace of art unsullied by contact with the work-a-day world. But these teachings, however well intended they may be, strike at the root of the organic unity of life and as such are bound to fail. The student must also live in this world and cannot avoid the consequences of decisions taken on the plane of politics. In Spain and in China, students are affected as much as any one else by what is happening every day, and in Germany and Japan students must carry out orders like any one else. As a member of society and a citizen of a particular State, he cannot, even he wills, deny or ignore the claims which that society or State may make on him. All dreams of beautiful isolation are shattered upon the rock of social solidarity and social membership.

The inherent laziness of human nature often persuades us to try to forget this fact and ignore the outer world. The student, like other men, is neither consciously nor consistently a political animal. The world that is most important to him is the world that he has built up round his own experiences. He generally thinks, not socially, not politically, but in terms of his individual happiness or misery, and lets

* Presidential address at Assam Provincial Students' Conference, April, 1939.

the affairs of the world pass unheeded by till suddenly its impact makes him realise that however much he may try, he cannot live apart from it, that his good is inextricably tied up with its good. With a shock he realises that he cannot mind his own affairs unless he minds the affairs of the world as well. He may try to avoid politics, but will politics avoid him ?

Into every item of our life, society and politics enter and determine their texture and tone. Politics determines the form of our education and sets the limits within which alone we can operate. It even attempts to mould our character and shape our thoughts. Students are as much subject to these laws as anybody else and hence interest in politics is as much their right as it is their duty. If politics cannot be avoided, is it not much better that it should be faced consciously and intellectually, and with a full understanding of what it involves ?

That is why the student movement has everywhere become entangled with politics and its manifold manifestations. The entanglement has varied in different countries in accordance with their varying needs and circumstances. In England, a satisfied country till recently, students have been content to play with politics in a sphere of their own which has reflected but not constituted the real politics of the land. Unions at Oxford and Cambridge and other British Universities have played with political ideas, discussed them and debated on them, but generally maintained an element of unreality and detachment in such discussions. In less fortunate countries, the pretence has turned into reality, the intellectual fervour has hardened into grim earnestness. And in a country like India, where political enslavement is the dominant fact of our lives, students have found it impossible to keep away from the fight for independence when it challenged all that was finest and noblest in them. In India, the danger to the student movement is not from its intellectual aloofness and sterility, but from its absorption and the consequent obsession and exhaustion in political strife.

Yet even this obsession is easy to understand. For till recently, the tradition of education in India has been based upon authority and unquestioning acceptance, upon a sharp divorce from the realities of Indian life, and an absorption in dreams of officialdom and bureaucratic splendour. A spirit of criticism and imperial domination cannot flourish together and education in India has, therefore, aimed at quenching the spirit of enquiry in order to maintain the imperial domination

intact. It little mattered that this process also resulted in the stultification of education itself, for education in the true sense of the term, expands the mind and gives resilience to the intellect. Inquisitiveness and curiosity are the bases on which alone knowledge can grow, and inquisitiveness and curiosity cannot flourish in an atmosphere oppressed by a spirit of domination and circumscribed by narrow material ends. That is why in our country the number of literates does not mark the measure of education achieved. That is why in our country more than in others we find men who have received all the externals of a high intellectual culture and yet whose minds are encumbered with blind superstitions and effete traditions, with the shabby furnishings of beliefs that are the corpses of a vanished past.

Today with the resurgence of Indian national consciousness, a new spirit of enquiry and revolt possesses the mind of Indian youth. Nothing is sacrosanct today, nothing above question. And the absorption of the Indian student movement in the political struggle is at the same time a symptom and an effect of this new-found freedom of the spirit. Excess there may be in such expression, for that is only natural in the reaction from studied aloofness from politics and all other things that are of vital importance in life. But the task of the student movement today is to harness the forces that have been released, to canalise them in fruitful and purposive activity, and prevent disruption and waste by mere display of emotional abandon and frenzy. And this it is particularly important to remember in a country where enthusiasm flares up to lyric heights and then collapses with equal suddenness. Sustained effort, calculated and enduring passion are qualities that we have lacked. Our religions and our society have exalted the utter abandon of asceticism where one act of renunciation wipes out the balance of evils accumulated through long years of lethargy and lassitude. The earnestness of moral endeavour which struggles through unexciting days and months and years and builds up a concrete habitation of life with many mansions and many sides has not had for us the appeal of the lyric intensity and exquisiteness of an individual decision. In a word, our life has lacked discipline and order. That is why magnificent empires have been reared by individual effort and collapsed with failure or deterioration in the quality of the individuals composing it. Organisation and decentralisation are facts which we have not understood and do not understand even today. We have lacked in

social consciousness and this failure has stamped with impermanence all our endeavour to build a better India. The function of the student movement is to awaken in our young men and women a consciousness of social order and organisation, a feeling for social significance which may enable them to succeed where we have till now invariably failed.

I should like to express the same thing in another way and say that the problem of the student movement in India is to steer a middle course between the two alternatives of unquestioning acquiescence to authority and anarchic assertion of individuality. Students cannot avoid politics even if they would, and there are a hundred reasons why should not even if they could. On the other hand, for students to be obsessed by politics and allow their energies to be dissipated by the demands of current events constitutes an equal danger to their future and the future of the country. Avoidance of politics breeds a spirit of acquiescence in which the will to better the world is lost. Obsession with politics engenders a spirit of revolt in which each individual tends to constitute himself into the final judge of every question of society and State. Blind conformity to a general law is as much a danger as blind uniformity in self-assertion. One kills the spirit of questioning in society and the other tends to dissolve society itself. And this is more necessary to remember in a world where the intimate interlacing of social, economic and political factors has made the business of human affairs far more complicated than it has ever been before. Politics today is a matter of detailed knowledge in the history and geography of many lands, of familiarity with the construction and interaction of social and economic life not only in one's own country but in all the countries of the world. How can one determine one's course of action in the midst of the shifting sands of everyday unless one has in one's mind a clear conception of the course of events in history? How can we meet the challenge of experience's eternal novelty unless the record of human evolution in theory and practice, in ideals and achievements serves as a pointer of the path that mankind has trod and must tread in its yearning after the ideal?

This knowledge can be built up only by painstaking care and arduous work, in a word by a hard discipline in which the youngman's inevitable tendency for flamboyant and fervid expression is constantly checked. Politics, which under modern conditions has become the life-blood of youngmen all over the world, demands all their passion, all

their devotion and all their energy. But in order to ensure that they can express their passion, utilise their energy and satisfy their devotion, it is essential that they must submit themselves to rigid discipline and self-control.

This must be a discipline which they impose upon themselves, for an external imposition only serves to curb their spontaneity. The spirit of searching and enquiry is equally the condition of successful acquisition of knowledge and of significant issue in political activity, but it must be a spirit that obeys definite laws and possesses definite objectives.

Discipline and self-control must therefore be keynote of the student movement, and specially in India. Nowhere is this more necessary than in the sphere of politics. A wise general is he who marshals his forces with meticulous care, who refuses to lose one man more than is absolutely necessary. But in our country this is often forgotten and we try to make up by mass what we lack in quality. That is why it is possible for some leaders here to say that the student must throw himself into the vortex of politics and let the future take care of itself. They do not see or perhaps do not care to see that undisciplined frenzy or enthusiasm does not achieve its object. Even doing a conflagration, we can best fight the fires by organised and disciplined force. Children and infants are even there an encumbrance and their participation only adds to the chaos of the scene. The fires must be fought and they can best be fought under the leadership of a cool and balanced brain that organises and controls the forces at his disposal.

Nor is this all. If we could be sure that once the fires are mastered, they will never recur, there would be justification for making a supreme effort and concentrating every ounce of energy for putting out the flames. Who can have that assurance in the affairs of man? Who dares to put a limit to man's aspiration and endeavour? Man continually marches forward towards new adventures and new achievements and each new achievement is a challenge to a fresh adventure. The realisation of one end opens the perspective for other ends and there can never be a goal beyond which man cannot go. In a word, struggle shall be the law of human life so long man is man and young men in every age must dream new dreams to shape the world to their hearts' desire. Permanent crisis which is a permanent feature of the modern economic structure of the world may, and perhaps

must, disappear with the elimination of the profit motive from society ; but, when the causes of present discontent and conflict are no more, who knows what new dreams the revolutionaries of that new order will dream for further transformation of society and human relationship ?

In the field of politics, we must therefore live dangerously, for only by so living can we hope to secure the conditions of peace and stability for the world. Consider the long way which man has already travelled in that path. From the isolated individual living his life of impulse and instinct to the well-ordered family where reciprocal rights and duties are recognised and honoured,—it is already a long step. From the family to the clan and tribe and on to the nation mark further revolutionary changes in social content and social outlook. It is a matter of recent history how only a few centuries ago, factions fought in Europe to assert their factional rights and how absolute monarchy—at first sight a thing of evil—evolved to co-ordinate and harmonise the fighting factions. Today we are still struggling in the stage of absolute monarchies—whether these be autocratic or republican—but already the organisation of the world has marched beyond that stage, and transformed the warring nations into members of a world community. Nations may not recognise that fact, but who can deny that the political and economic ills of the modern world transcend and must transcend all national and territorial boundaries ?

We must therefore live dangerously, for to think of the future in the midst of conditions of the present is always dangerous ; it is the quintessence of revolution. But the quality of danger in our lives must be, not that which attaches to sudden conflagrations or unforeseen calamity, but that which is the constant companion of men who live on the shores of the sea and must wage an incessant fight to resist its constant threat. In such struggle, there is no occasion for bravado or sudden outburst ; what we require is steady persistence and silent endeavour, organised effort that is the more successful because of its lack of effervescence and fervid dissipation.

I shall take a few concrete examples where we require this fusion of revolutionary questioning with steady self-control. The urgency of our fight for freedom is accepted by everyone who has any political consciousness, but do we always realise the necessity of discipline and organisation in that fight ? The good is the enemy of the best, no

doubt, but in our country, the best has unfortunately become the enemy of the good. A mentality has grown that looks at political questions, and social questions, not from the point of view of the realities of the world, but from a pedestal of visionary doctrinaire which distorts whatever it looks at. This attitude will never temporise even when temporising may be necessary for the achievement of our ends. Just as Russia had to modify the idea of immediate world revolution in order to consolidate the revolution in Russia itself, we also may find it necessary to call halt at times and consolidate what we have already achieved. Those who will not allow that breathing space and want to rush to the goal in one frenzied breathless spurt, may end by spending the energy of our revolt long before we have attained our goal.

Political independence we must achieve for the restoration of our moral and intellectual integrity, for the making of our education real and vital, for the realisation of the tremendous economic possibilities of the land. That independence is today our immediate objective and for that purpose we must consolidate the energy of the student, the peasant and the labourer. But have we considered seriously what we shall do after the objective has been reached? Nor can we say today that the time for consideration will come after the objective has been gained, for I am sure you will all agree that success in that limited objective is perhaps not very distant. Already there are symptoms that soon, perhaps sooner than many of us dare to hope, India will be free. World forces and the process of events are hurrying towards that consummation. But the youngmen of our country must ask today: Would this resolve the problems implicit in our lives?

Without the achievement of political freedom, we cannot resolve our inmost purposes, and this is why the student movement has linked itself to the struggle for political independence. But by the same argument, this marks only the beginning of our endeavour. Once political independence is achieved, the problems of hunger, poverty and social inequality must be faced. Other politically free countries have not solved the problem of unemployment. They have not solved the problem of social inequality and social injustice. How can we be confident of success where they have failed unless we apply fresh measures to the remedy of our common ills? Can we hope to achieve and guarantee political liberty without also eradicating the economic and social

inequality from which human society has suffered since the beginning of time ?

I shall take another sphere where revolutionary reconstruction must be based upon a fusion of enthusiasm and discipline. Our educational system has been often condemned, and with justice, for its many inherent defects. It aims, not at education, not at the development of personality and the liberation of the mind, but at the injection of information that too often remains dead and alien. It stamps originality, and in the name of intellectuality, kills the intellect. We have lost our manual skill and gained nothing in recompense. The reconstruction of education must therefore start from the very basis if it is to be of value in our national life. Not only must its temper and tone change, but also its range and extent. In the past and even today, education has been for a privileged few and has aimed at creating a bourgeoisie who may help to distribute British goods in India and also help to maintain the conditions necessary for the purpose. The manufacture of clerks—in government or in merchant offices—has been its aim and it has succeeded ingloriously. The intellectuals have become sterile and useless. The masses, divorced from contact with the vital forces of the world, have become inert and dead. A new scheme of education to replace this effete and often harmful system must have three main objectives. It must be an education that is accessible to all and acceptable to all. Meant for all, it must be based on what is common to the culture of India, and avoid what is peculiar to any special group or community. It must aim at a universal ethic and avoid all religious colouring. Secondly, it must develop the spirit of spontaneity and freedom in the mind of India's youth. Our present system of education has sinned the most in this respect and it is in this respect the greatest expiation must be made. Questioning, not acceptance, enquiry, not authority, must mark the new system we want to evolve. This end can be achieved only if we free ourselves from the tyranny of an alien tongue. Memory, not intelligence, is the basis of our education today, for the energy of the young is exhausted by the mere effort of mastering the intricacies of the language. The medium of instruction has become more important than the instruction itself, with consequences which every thinking man deplors. Thirdly, a new system of education must aim at bringing back the manual skill we have lost, for if India is to grow machineminded, as she must under the stress of modern conditions, she must create a vast reservoir

of human material from which she can draw her technicians and engineers, her skilled workers and efficient operatives. Without this reorientation of her educational policy and a shifting of emphasis from purely literary aims to one which achieves a harmony of physical and mental culture, there can be no hope for education in India.

Recently there has been such an attempt at reorienting education in India. Judged from these standards, the Wardha scheme marks a step forward in the right direction, though in the opinion of many, it does not go far enough. We must aim at a scheme which guarantees free education to everybody, not up to the age of ten or twelve or even fourteen but so long as a student can derive benefit from it. In the modern world of individual anarchy, education also is looked upon from the point of view of the individual's struggle against his fellows. This is one of the greatest social losses which human stupidity permits, for the wastage of human material through lack of social opportunities results in impoverishment of the quality of life. Besides, one of the most potent instruments for the maintenance and increase of the inequality inherent in modern society is the system of education prevalent now, for it puts a premium on wealth and social status and exaggerates the initial disadvantage from which the vast majority of the members of our society suffer. In a partial, but very partial attempt, to remedy this in the lower stages of education, the Wardha scheme is a right and a necessary move. But the proposal to make higher and technical education a matter of private concern for the individual or the group is an undesirable and reactionary feature which must be discarded at the earliest opportunity. The attempt to emphasise manual skill is also a welcome shift in the tendency of education today, though the utility of the move will be largely formed by the choice of the type of manual skill imparted to the children brought under its influence.

I do not want to dilate upon the quarrel about the names of the schools started under this scheme. Vidya Mandir or Baitul Ilm, to me they seem equally a sign of retrogression and can be explained only by the confusion of renaissance and revivalism which is so marked a feature of Indian life today. Anybody with any political foresight could predict that in a country like ours, where community glares at community in suspicion, it is a positive danger to import fresh religious elements into the common life of society. Public education here should be secular,

for any attempt to suggest religious associations will lead to fresh causes for quarrel and further exacerbation of feelings. We often talk of Kemal Ataturk and admire what he did for Turkey. But do we seriously try to apply the principles which he found of use in Turkey to the remedy of our ills ? If there be nothing special in these names, why insist upon them ? If on the other hand they have a meaning, this meaning is bound to derive its importance from specific religious associations and should for the sake of India's future growth be eschewed. Call a school a school and let us be done with it.

The question of Urdu *versus* Hindi is to my mind another such exhibition of confusion between renaissance and revivalism. If we want a common language for India—and who does not ?—it must perforce be Hindustani ; not the rich and luxurious Urdu which a Lucknowite may display nor the sonorous Hindi which is the delight of the Pundits of Benares, but the Hindustani of the market place which you and I speak and understand. And I am equally convinced that the only way of achieving this Hindustani is to adopt the Roman script—the international script of the modern world—so that at one stroke we make Hindustani accessible not only to the whole of India, but to the peoples of the world as a whole. I have no doubt in my mind that when we have taken this single but revolutionary step and made it possible for the whole of India to contribute to the enrichment of Hindustani, it will become one of the major languages of the world. Till this is done, religious and regional, communal and cultural and linguistic bickerings will continue.

Revolutionary ardour and disciplined sense must co-operate in this endeavour. National vanity may at first be injured though there is no reason why it should. For the script is an artificial set of symbols which has little to do with a nation's genius. We must realise that the language is not the script. The language we may imbibe with our mothers' milk, but the script we painfully and laboriously acquire with tears and toil. Besides it is only a perverted inferiority complex—a slave mentality, if I may use a strong word, that prevents our adopting of what may be good in other cultures and other civilisations. A vital nation, an alive people never hesitates to borrow, adopt and adapt, for it assimilates whatever it acquires. But a subject race, continually hesitates and pauses lest a breath of air from the free and wide world outside sully its artificially preserved purity.

There are a hundred other questions which I would like to discuss

with you. But I must tax your patience no more. I shall in concluding once again appeal to you to achieve this intellectual emancipation, this freedom of the mind in your own lives. The society in which we are born seeks to tie us with a hundred bonds. Superstitions and beliefs are in our blood and forms of economic and political organisation seem to us like the unalterable facts of life. Today a new type of civilisation is emerging into the range of possibility. The conquest of the forces of nature has for the first time made it possible to bring freedom and light into the life of every single human individual. Achieve for yourself intellectual freedom and the wealth of knowledge, and use all your intellect and all your passion and all your knowledge to build up an order of society in which the injustices of the modern regime may disappear, and we may realise the supreme principle of social good in giving to everyone what he needs and taking from everyone what he can contribute. Into that revolutionary adventure of tomorrow, I welcome you as fellow workers, friends and comrades.

INDICES OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN FRANCE

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Docteur en géographie honoris causa.

IN France the category "economic planning" or "planified economy" is not much in favour among economic theorists and social philosophers used as they are to the tradition of *laissez faire*. And yet it is possible to detect, as we have very often noticed in connection with our studies in French economy, that planning of one denomination or other has factually been in force in France for quite a long time. Some of the fresh indices of economic progress in France are being exhibited below such as point to the fact that *étatisme*, state-influence, state-intervention or state-control is a substantial force in the social system of France.

HYDROELECTRIC DEVELOPMENTS

As late as a few years before the War (1914-18) the output and consumption of electric power in France was comparatively insignificant, but the advance has been very swift, especially since 1912. The consumption increased steadily down to 1930: from 7,700,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1923 it rose to 10,500,000,000 in 1925, and to 15,800,000,000 in 1930. In spite of the world depression which impeded the upward trend, the consumption again showed an advance in 1937; in the electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical works, the advance was something like 20% as compared with 1936.

In France water-power is superabundant and the percentage of its utilisation has, of course, increased during the last few years. In 1936, the proportion of hydraulic power stood at 40% of the total output of the works extant, as compared with 29% only in 1923; and there is a certain amount of work in hand which will materially increase this percentage. Now this is the more important in that while water-power, as stated above, is superabundant in France, her output in coal is, on the contrary, limited, making it important, therefore, to reduce the

¹ Based on a talk at the "Antarjâtik Banga" Parishat ("International Bengal" Institute), August 25, 1939.

consumption of coal by an ever greater utilisation of hydroelectric power. The total equipment of France would permit of a saving of 40,000,000 tons of coal per annum, or more than half the consumption in France.

The Minister of Public Works estimated the requirements of French industry at over 18,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1938—an advance of between 8 and 10% as compared with 1936. Now with the present means of production the output cannot exceed 20,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours. The decree-law of June, 1938, is intended to remedy this relative deficiency, by speeding up the works in hand (notably on the Rhone and the Dordogne), and instituting, moreover, a further programme providing for the establishment of waterfalls and power lines, at a cost of 14 milliards of francs. Such is, in short, the action taken in 1938 in the line of electrification planning.

The effort of the several local communes (*i.e.*, towns) has been a substantial one, particularly since 1936, in the matter of rural equipment—roads, water-supply, silos, storehouses, cellars, etc. That equipment was likewise directed towards electrification, and it may be stated that in this field State initiative has met with a substantial response. At the end of 1937, France had in operation some 2,000 kilometres of 220,000-volt and about 4,500 kilometres of 150,000-volt lines. By this time, out of 38,000 French communes, 36,126 have been provided with electricity; within two years' time, the whole country is to be similarly equipped.

During the first quarter of 1938 the amount of power supplied by the 69 most important Companies for the production and distribution of electric power amounted to 1,096,679,236 kwh. as compared with 994,345,187 kwh. for the corresponding period in 1937. The figures for the hydroelectric production are given below:—

Rivers flowing down from the Alps: 491,641,891 kwh. as against 423,819,154 in 1927; from the Massif Central: 80,899,853 kwh. as compared with 154,663,529; from the Pyrenees, 188,103,965 kwh. as against 154,464,275; from other uplands: 20,304,737 kwh. as compared with 20,961,683.

ELECTRIFICATION OF RAILWAYS

At the beginning of the century a few suburban lines of the Parisian area were electrified but there was no real advance until the utilisation of water power became a practical proposition and it became

possible to convey the power to a great distance without loss on the way. In November, 1918—just when France might have been thought to be exhausted by four years of war—the *Conseil Supérieur des Travaux Publics* appointed a Committee to enquire into electrification, made up of representatives of the Ministries of Public Works, Finance and War, as well as representatives of the relevant Parliamentary Commissions, the Railway Companies and Industry. The Committee's Report (submitted May 15, 1920) recommended the electrification of 8,839 kilometres of railway lines (2,684 in the Midi system, 3,101 in the Orleans system and 2,266 in the P. L. M. system); it furthermore projected 788 kilometres of new lines.

Of these, the Midi Co. carried out its programme the most methodically; the P. L. M. Co. merely attempted an experiment between Culoz and Modane; as for the Orleans Co., it electrified a main section from Paris to Orleans. In 1931 the *Conseil Supérieur des Travaux Publics* appointed a further Committee to ascertain the proper way to proceed with the carrying out of the programme, taking into account the suggestions derived from the earlier results. The Committee drew up a programme for 7,000 kilometres of rail roads, only 2,740 of which were to be put in hand immediately.

A survey of the present map of France shows that the electrified system now comprises 3,419 kilometres, almost equalling the Italian system (3,870 kilometres); Germany has electrified 2,977 kilometres; England 1,223 kilometres. Proportionately to the area of the respective countries, be it noted *en passant*, the Swiss and Swedish systems rank first, with 2,626 and 2,606 kilometres respectively. The electrification begun between Paris and Orleans has been extended as far as Brive; when it reaches Montauban it will join the line to Spain and it will be possible to travel from Paris to Puigcerda by electric train, as is now the case from Bayonne to Sete.

A further stage has now been covered: the last lap of the Paris to Bordeaux electric line, the Angoulême to Bordeaux section of which remained to be completed. One of the longest electric lines in the world will thus shortly be put in commission—the 824 kilometre main line from Paris to Irun, the first section of which, from Paris to Tours, was electrified in 1933; the second, from Tours to Poitiers, in 1938; and the third, from Poitiers to Angoulême in 1938.

The above account affords an idea of the strenuous and rapid achievement carried out by France since the last War. France

possesses enormous hydro-electric resources, but is obliged, as indicated above, to import a substantial proportion of the coal she needs. The electrification of the Paris-Bordeaux and Paris-Le Mans lines justifies the expectation of an additional annual consumption of electric power equal to 120,000,000 kwh.—raising the annual consumption of haulage current on the French railways to about 650,000,000 kwh. On the basis of 2·2 kilos of coal per kwh., the above quantity of kwh. represents 1,500,000 tons of coal, a considerable item on the right side of France's commercial balance. On a main line such as that from Paris to Bordeaux, the traffic amounts to 3,210,000,000 kilometre-tons and the amount of coal required to haul it to 130,000 tons per annum. When one had to deal with figures of this importance, one perceives the large-scale electrification operations carried out on the French territory.

In order to equip the new line it took 370 kilometres of high tension wiring and 1,100 tons of aluminium. For the contact mines, 3,500 tons of copper and 12,000 of steel were used. The locomotives, to the number of 16, are high-speed engines, covering as they do 112 kilometres from Paris to Les Aubrais in 58 minutes. One of these engines is able to haul a train weighing 489 tons at a speed of 146 kilometres an hour, a train weighing 817 tons at a speed of 125 kilometres and a train weighing 350 tons at a speed of 170 kilometres an hour.

FOREIGN TRADE

For the year 1938 the figures relating to French foreign trade bear conclusive witness to the economic recovery of France, the reality of which has been asserted for some time past. It is a fact that during the last twelve month the commercial situation of the country has distinctly improved.

In value, imports into France from most countries show an advance, though a slight setback is observable in 1937 as compared with 1938, as regards imports from Britain, Germany, Argentina, Sweden, Soviet Russia, Egypt, Czechoslovakia and a few other countries. Some alterations are to be recorded in the order of precedence of the supplying countries. But the aggregate value of French imports has increased by 8·5 % between 1937 and 1938. The perturbations affecting Czechoslovakia, Austria, Spain and China could not but be felt generally, and of course the strained relations between France and

Germany, as well as between France and Italy, were not without effect. The fact must also be taken into account that France has been obliged to cut down various quotas with a view to the better protection of her domestic production, *i.e.*, in the interest of her *Swadeshi* movement.

Turning now to the export trade, one finds a general advance, except as regards sales to Italy, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Austria, Japan, Lithuania, British Malayasia and the overseas Spanish territories. Here, again, we observe a few alterations in the order of precedence of the customer countries. For instance, Switzerland passes from the 4th to the 3rd and Germany from the 5th to the 4th; the United States drop from the 3rd to the 5th rank, Japan from the 17th to the 29th and Italy from the 7th to the 9th. On the basis of 100 for 1913, the following indices represent the position in 1937 and 1938 respectively: Belgo-Luxembourg Union, 284 and 377; Britain, 190 and 249; Switzerland, 356 and 474; Germany 163 and 213; United States, 363 and 394; Netherlands, 1,001 and 1,619; Argentine Republic, 267 and 365; Sweden, 1,416 and 1,984; Italy, 209 and 158; Spain, 281 and 258; Brazil, 220 and 349; Norway, 1,682 and 2,146; Soviet Russia, 361 and 456; Canada, 515 and 618; Japan, 1,073 and 667; various countries 370 and 578; French Possessions, 757 and 938.—General average, 348 and 445.

It may be noted incidentally that a judicious commercial effort on the markets of the Scandinavian countries and Holland has brought about a substantial increase in the French sales to those countries.

The general average increase of French exports to foreign countries between 1937 and 1938 works out at 27·8 %. As in the case of the import trade it will be seen very clearly that the political developments have had a marked influence on the trade relations between the various nations. Conditions in Czechoslovakia, Austria and Spain, as well as the strained relations between France and Italy, are plainly discernible in the above statement.

The net balance of trade with the several countries in 1938 was in France's favour in 14 cases, as against 10 only in 1937. The actual balance of trade improved in the case of the Belgo-Luxembourg Union, Switzerland, Spain, Denmark, Ireland, Bulgaria and Greece. It is again on the credit side in respect of Britain, the Netherlands, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Jugoslavia. The surplus in France's favour has been maintained in the case of Lithuania, though

with a slight decrease. On the other hand, the balance is now on the debit side as regards Italy and has become more heavily adverse than before in the case of the United States, Australia, Canada, Japan and India, while less so at the moment in respect of Germany, Finland, Egypt, the Argentine Republic and others.¹

• •

¹ B. K. Sarkar : *Economic Development*, Vol. II (Calcutta 1938), as well as articles on "The Electrification of France," "The Banque de France," and "France's Trade with her Colonies" in the *Calcutta Review* for June and July, 1934, September, 1936, and July, 1937. See also Sarkar : *The New Foundations of French Social Economy*, a study in French Economic Planning (Calcutta, 1938).

POE AND ROSSETTI

RAM BILAS SHARMA, M.A.

POE was one of Rossetti's favourite poets in the early days of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. He used to recite his verses, as was his practice with some other chosen poets, and he made a sketch from his poem, "The Sleeper." The sketch shows the girl with the ghosts staring at her and illustrates the lines—

I pray to God that she may be
For ever with unopened eye
While the dim sheeted ghosts go by.

Poe's poem might have suggested to Rossetti, the subject of Poe's poem, "My Sister's Sleep," where the girl sleeps silently and passes imperceptibly from life to death. There is a certain resemblance between the description of natural phenomena in both ; the moon shines in Poe and

An opiate vapor, dewy, dim,
Exhales from out her golden rim,
And softly dripping, drop by drop,
Upon the quiet mountain-top,
Steals drowsily and musically
Into the universal valley.

In Rossetti, the image of the moon is less vague and is fixed in its outlines :—

Without, there was a cold moon up,
Of winter radiance sheer and thin;
The hollow halo it was in
Was like an icy crystal cup.

There is an insistence on the silence of the atmosphere in both the poems ; in Poe, in—

And this all solemn stillness ;

and in Rossetti, in—

I heard
The silence for a little space.

There are some other poems of Rossetti, where there is not only a resemblance of factual details but a kinship in feeling which connects Rossetti with Poe as of the same poetic brotherhood. Some of Poe's views concerning the more technical aspects of poetry might as well have influenced Rossetti.

The death of the woman, once loved, was a favourite subject with Poe. In actual life, his wife had died prematurely of disease as had that of Rossetti. The memory no doubt supplied them with themes for tales, pictures or poems. Earlier, when the mother of one of Poe's schoolmates, his first love, had died, he visited her grave by night, "and the experience of her loss and his desolation tinged his verse all his life long."¹ In "Annabel Lee," he lies by the grave of the lady, listening to the sound of the sea in loneliness:—

And so, all the night-tide, I lie down by the side
Of my darling—my darling—my life and my bride,
In the sepulchre there by the sea,
In her tomb by the sounding sea.

In "Ulalume," he visits the tomb of this other lady with psyche, his soul, and this time, he is led to it unwittingly by an evil spirit. The element of surprise is greater here as he is suddenly made aware in his night-journey that he is standing before the grave of his beloved:—

And I said, "What is written, sweet sister,
On the door of this legended tomb?"
She replied, "Ulalume!—Ulalume!
'Tis the vault of thy lost Ulalume!"

The theme of these poems is closely related to that of "The Portrait" by Rossetti. The lover wanders in the night as Poe had done in actual life and he is suddenly made aware with a thrill that these are the very same regions where he had once been with his beloved:—

Last night at last I could have slept,
And yet delayed my sleep till dawn,
Still wandering. Then it was I wept:
For unawares I came upon
Those glades where once she walked with me

¹ •Biographical sketch by N. H. Dole in *Poems* (George Routledge, London).

And as I stood there suddenly,
 All wan with traversing the night,
 Upon the desolate verge of light
 Yearned loud the iron-bosomed sea.

The sudden recognition of a scene once familiar characterises both "Ulalume" and "The portrait." In both, the scene evokes feelings connected with the future union of their beloveds; in Rossetti, there is hope that he would stand face to face with God when he would meet her, while in Poe, there is a vague apprehension of his being lost beyond all hopes of redemption. Like nature, Poe's heart becomes—

ashen and sober
 As the leaves that were crisped and sere,
 As the leaves that were withering and sere.

This vague apprehension relieved by sudden streaks of hope is characteristic of both these poets. Thus, Poe expresses his hope in future re-union in "Annabel Lee":—

And neither the angels in heaven above,
 Nor the demons down under the sea,
 Can ever dissever my soul from the soul
 Of the beautiful ANNABEL LEE:

There is a touch of exotic beauty in this lady as she is shown to have been brought up in a far-off kingdom by the sea. Rossetti's wanderings by the sea show a similar land to have been her birth-place. The supernatural associations of Rossetti's woman are evoked in the stanzas describing the background of the picture:—

In painting her I shrined her face
 'Mid mystic trees, where light falls in
 Hardly at all; a covert place
 Where you might think to find a din
 Of doubtful talk, and a live flame
 Wandering, and many a shape whose name
 Not itself knoweth, and old dew,
 And your own footsteps meeting you,
 And all things going as they came.

This vision of shadows passing one another in silence with a secret understanding of the powers of evil that haunt the place might as well

have been suggested by Poe's poem of "Dream Land," which describes a similar region, especially the lines—

There the traveller meets aghast
Sheeted Memories of the past,—
Shrouded forms that start and sigh
As they pass the wanderer by,—
White-robed forms of friends long given
In agony, to the Earth,—and Heaven.

In "The Portrait" Rossetti craves for a union in heaven, yet all the while—

Hopes and aims long lost with her
Stand round her image side by side,
Like tombs of pilgrims that have died
About the Holy Sepulchre.

The hopelessness of the poet's lot had been suggested in "Ulalume" but the association of tombs with hope might have been a reminiscence of a line in Poe's poem, "To Zante":—

How many memories of what radiant hours
At sight of thee and thine at once awake!
How many scenes of what departed bliss!
How many thoughts of what entombed hopes!

Thus Rossetti was indebted to Poe for some of the significant details of this poem.

The "Blessed Damsel" is another poem of Rossetti, treating of the theme of the dead woman and the hope of future union with her in heaven. As pointed out above, a similar theme has been treated of in Poe's "Annabel Lee." Poe's lines in "To Helen," about the lady's eyes—

They fill my soul with beauty (which is Hope),
And are far up in Heaven—

remind one of the lady in heaven gazing at her lover on earth in Rossetti's poem.

The theme of "The Raven" too must have appealed deeply to Rossetti. A foreboding of unknown suffering in hell for loving the

evil woman finds expression in the work of both these poets. The bird in Poe's poem is a "Ghastly, grim, and ancient Raven, wandering from the Nightly shore" and there is a vague hint of its association with the soul of the woman he loved in the poem. In "The Philosophy of Poetic Composition," he says more explicitly that "it was the spirit of his mistress that knocked." The lamp-light throws its shadow on the floor—

And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor
Shall be lifted—nevermore!

The power of the evil has his soul in its power and will not release it again. The repetition of the refrain "Nevermore" reaches here its climax with the suggestion of suffering in hell till eternity. There are various poems of Rossetti in which by symbolic imagery, he describes the suffering of the lover due to his coming in contact with the powers of evil. This doom cannot be shirked by man even though he knows it; it is linked with man's very desire for woman, the desire to taste the forbidden fruit and undergo suffering in consequence. In "Love's Fatality" he portrays how Love becomes a slave to this desire. In "Body's Beauty" and sonnets of that kind, he describes the fatality of women. In "Orchard Pit," he dreams of the evil woman with an apple in her hand and the bones of her lovers lying scattered at her feet. Most of the sonnets on his pictures treat of the theme of the fatal woman and the suffering of the lover. This is not to suggest that Rossetti was in debt to Poe for his treatment of this particular theme but it is clear that the two poets satisfied their craving for suffering in a way that was common to both. In the second of his "Willowwood" sonnets, Rossetti describes the suffering of men inhabiting a strange land who had been once tempted to associate with the prohibited woman. The suggestion of eternal pain is given in the octave—

O ye, all ye that walk in willowwood,
That walk with hollow faces burning white;
What fathom-depth of soul-struck widowhood,
What long, what longer hours, one lifelong night,
Ere ye again, who so in vain have wooed
Your last hope lost, who so in vain invite
Your lips to that their unforgotten food,
Ere ye, ere ye again shall see the light!

"Your Last Hope Lost" brings out the hopelessness of their doom. The sestet stresses their despair and adds more details to the landscape :—

Alas! the bitter banks in Willowwood,
 With tear-spurge wan, with blood-wort burning red :
 Alas! if ever such a pillow could
 Steep deep the soul in sleep till she were dead,—
 Better all life forget her than this thing,
 That willowwood should hold her wandering!

The land of suffering where the soul wanders in agony due to some secret sin has been variously described by Poe. The region of Night haunted only by evil angels in "Dream-Land" is one of these. Another occurs in the "Fairy-Land":—

Dim vales—and shadowy floods—
 And cloudy-looking woods,
 Whose forms we can't discover
 For the tears that drip all over.

Rossetti might have got a hint for his sonnet from this poem, especially with regard to the tear-spurge from the dripping tears by an association of sound.

Rossetti was a free-thinker in matters of religion, faith with him being more a matter of convention than of sincere belief. He put faith in heaven and hell because it added a motive to his description of imaginary suffering and happiness. Poe frankly admits that such faith is justified for reasons of poetry. He says in "The Philosophy of Composition" that the lover propounds queries to the raven, "not altogether because he believes in the prophetic or demoniac character of the bird (which, reason assures him, is merely repeating a lesson learned by rote), but because he experiences a frenzied pleasure in so modelling his questions as to receive from the *expected* 'Nevermore' the most delicious because the most intolerable of sorrow." Thus faith is a matter of convention and is used to extract pleasure out of imaginary spiritual suffering.

In midst of their pre-occupation with romantic themes, both the poets now and then pray to the Virgin to save their souls from pain after death. Poe's "Hymn" is an instance of such moments of piety; it might have suggested to Rossetti his "Ave" which begins with a similar prayer to the Mother. The first paragraph of "Ave" consisting

of 13 lines, exceeds Poe's "Hymn," which consists of 12, only by a line. Both have been written in octosyllabic couplets.

The symbolism of lakes or pools of water recurs incessantly in Rossetti. They are seen in the dim pale light of the moon or in utter darkness and signify the suffering of the human soul. Water is a symbol of life; relations of light and shade determine its significance with regard to happiness and pain. The "waters stilled at even" in the "Blessed Damsel" show the melancholy peaceful expression of the eyes of the Damsel. Under the pale light of the moon, water signifies suffering and in darkness, irremediable sin. In the "Bride's Prelude," the thought of the sinful bride has become stagnant and is stirred by speech like a black pool:—

Her thought, long stagnant, stirred by speech,
Gave her a sick recoil;
As, dip thy fingers through the green
That masks a pool,—where they have been
The naked depth is black between.

Poe had used stagnant water as symbolic of the sinful state of the soul in "Eulalie":—

I dwelt alone
In a world of moan,
And my soul was a stagnant tide.

In "Rose Mary," Rossetti compares the swoon of the lady with a pool in a moonless night:—

And as night through which no moon may dart
Lies on a pool in the woods apart,
So lay the swoon on the weary heart.

And this lady had sinned with her lover in her unmarried state. Poe had described similar blank lakes in "Dream-Land":—

Lakes that endlessly outspread
Their lone waters—lone and dead,—
Their still waters—still and chilly
With the snows of the lolling lily.

The supernatural character of suffering is evoked in both by the description of pools and lakes in a dark night unrelieved by the light of the

moon. Poe's "Lake" describes a similar rock-bound lake which is a favourite haunt of the poet. In his sonnet, "Passion and Worship," Rossetti distinguishes between the passion of love and its worship. The former gives pain and the latter, pleasure; the music of love's worship walks a sunlit sea, but of love's passion—

Where wan water trembles in the grove
And the wan moon is all the light thereof,
This harp still makes my name its voluntary.

Poe had described a lake under the dim light of the moon with similar associations in "The Sleeper":—

At midnight, in the month of June,
I stand beneath the mystic moon.

* * * * *

Looking like Lethe, see! the lake
A conscious slumber seems to take
And would not, for the world awake.

The dim lake of Auber in the misty mid-region of Weir in "Ulalume" is another of these famous lakes. The suffering of the human soul is connected in Rossetti as in Poe with some secret sin of sexual desire; the pain is depicted in both by description of lonely lakes or pools, as emblematic of the state of the soul, seen under the light of a dim moon or in total darkness.

There are some technical aspects of art and poetry where Rossetti's views and often his practices closely resemble those of Poe. Poe is the forerunner of Baudelaire and Valéry in dealing with poetry as a science like Mathematics which could be taught by certain definite rules. In "The Philosophy of Composition" he says of the "Raven": "It is my design to render it manifest that no one point in its composition is referable either to accident or intuition—that the work proceeded, step by step, to its completion, with the precision and rigid consequence of a mathematical problem." What Poe says of poetry, Rossetti says of painting. He is reported to have told Hall Caine, "Now I paint by a set of unwritten but clearly defined rules, which I could teach to any man as systematically as you could teach arithmetic" and "painting, after all, is the craft of a superior carpenter. The part of a picture that is not mechanical is often

trivial enough."¹ Both Poe and Rossetti hated the long poem though their own poems do not always conform to the length of the ideal poem. Rossetti said, "I hate long poems" and of Sydney Dobell, "what a pity it is that he insists on being generally so long-winded."² And Poe wrote emphatically in "The Poetic Principle," "I hold that a long poem does not exist. I maintain that the phrase 'a long poem' is simply a flat contradiction in terms." Another point in the technique of verse-writing where Rossetti is a close follower of Poe is the repetition of the refrain. Poe makes many variations of the device and often repeats words or lines in a way that does not allow them to be called refrains. He, however, dwells on its importance and artistic uses to which it may be put in "The Philosophy of Composition." "The universality of its employment," he says, "sufficed to assure me of its intrinsic value, and spared me the necessity of submitting it to analysis. I considered it, however, with regard to its susceptibility of improvement, and soon saw it to be in a primitive condition.....I determined to produce continuously novel effects, by the variation of the application of the refrain,—the refrain itself remaining, for the most part, unvaried." One has only to remember such famous poems of Rossetti as "Eden Bower," "Sister Helen" and "Troy Town" to recognise Rossetti's affinities with Poe in this respect. Like his predecessor, Rossetti makes his own variations of the refrain and does not confine its use to the ballad in its ordinary forms. About the general setting of the poem, the locale where the action should take place, Poe says, "It has always appeared to me that a close *circumscription of space* is absolutely necessary to the effect of insulated incident; it has the force of a frame to a picture. It has an indisputable moral power in keeping concentrated the attention, and, of course, must not be confounded with mere unity of place." Poe practises this device much more in his tales than in any of his important poems save the "Raven." But Rossetti more than once laid his scenes in closed decorated chambers as in "The Bride's Prelude," "Rose Mary" and "Sister Helen" which show how Poe had anticipated Rossetti in the use of such settings in his poems. Rossetti uses it also in the composition of his pictures like "The Marriage of St. George" and "Laboratory."

¹ *Recollections of D. G. Rossetti*, by Hall Caine.

² *D. G. Rossetti*, by A. C. Benson.

Poe may, therefore, be credited with an important share in the development of Rossetti as a poet. Rossetti's debts to him with regard to certain themes as well as symbolic imagery and poetic theories are considerable. Poe treats of the doom of the ill-fated lover in the same manner as does Rossetti and the theme of the woman of evil powers is equally dear to both. The wives of both by natural coincidence had died in their youth due to disease and this made them repeatedly treat of the theme of the dead woman in their poetry. In using lakes and pools as symbols of the soul, Poe's influence on Rossetti is evident. In the more modern attitude to art emphasising its mechanical side as opposed to the romantic view glorifying intuition, Rossetti had been again anticipated by Poe. In the creation of a certain kind of poetical effect by repetition of the refrain and in the laying of the scene in heavily perfumed, closed and gloomy chambers, Poe was the master of Rossetti. Even where resemblances do not point to a definite debt on Rossetti's part to Poe, their artistic affinities are nonetheless clear.

NEW TENDENCIES IN ITALIAN DRAMA*

DR. MONI MOULIK, D.Sc. POL. (ROME)

A year before his death, in his preface to a series of studies on the Italian drama, Luigi Pirandello made the following clear statement: "If anyone is surprised to hear me assert that the first and most outstanding drama in the world is the Italian drama, I hope that, having read the following pages, wonder will have yielded place in his mind to a keener and more thoughtful consideration of the ideal values of which he, as an Italian, is the depository; these values have been renewed and increased from century to century by the creators of our great nation."

With these clear and concise assertions, Pirandello wittingly attacked the bad habit of those who for years have intentionally closed their eyes to both the older and the contemporary forms of Italian drama, who have forgotten the powerful religious spirit which, in the Middle Ages, led Italy to the popular forms of drama, the morality play, through which the spirit of the Greek legend became grafted upon Christian civilization; they have completely forgotten, too, the comedy of art; leaping over three whole centuries at one bound, though it had, in its time, been famous throughout the world; they forgot the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and above all, they forgot the marvellous way in which Italian drama has flourished during the last twenty-five years.

A far-reaching movement has taken place in the Italian theatre since 1910. The cultural antecedents of this movement may be sought in the new spiritual currents, from Hegel's idealistic philosophy, to Bergson's intuitive doctrines, to the pragmatism and the latest theories of the present idealism.

At first, of course, the new drama had its adversaries in those whose tendencies were clearly directed towards the more familiar forms; it also found its defenders in the ranks of the trained and enlightened minority who, by offering ardent and fervid support, carried the new trend on to victory.

* Based on a talk at the *Bangiya Dante Sabha* (Bengali Dante Society) before the Research Fellows, on August 29, 1939. Part of the material is derived from discussions with the author's colleagues in Italy.

It was only after 1910 that the new drama really began to flourish. The public were keenly interested in the theatre. Controversies were frequent and lively, a clear sign and product of the most active and fertile periods. As the result of an inexplicable historic phenomenon and probably quite independently of Pirandello's activity and will, the new theatre was born, grew and developed, earning for itself an international name, during the period when this great dramatist was writing so prolifically, so that it almost seems as though all the best that has been contributed to the Italian stage during the past twenty-five years has become centred around him.

Before defining the developments of the Italian stage during this period, it may be well to mention the conditions of the world and the drama at the time when the new writers found themselves in the centre of the Italian dramatic movement, a movement which from the very outset evidenced a clear break-away from the art which had been so profoundly influenced by the modern French and North European drama. As a result of this reaction, the influence of the French naturalistic, realist and sentimental drama, from Dumas' *La Dame aux Camélias* to Kistemaechers' *La Flambee*, was abandoned for ever in Italy, as was that of trends ethically more important and stronger, such as those of Strindberg and Ibsen, which are today moulding the best productions of the foremost dramatists on the other side of the Alps.

The national and international situation, as found by the new Italian drama, and against which it took up its position, was more or less this. In France there was, on the one hand, a type of lively comedy, which to a certain extent contained an element of the great traditions of Aristophanes, and was therefore welcomed by the public ; on the other hand, there was the serious drama which, through Augier, Dumas, Sardou, Bataille, Bernstein, etc., was progressively losing its tragic and ethical nature, and adapting itself more and more to the conception of life and art *in minore*. This school had found easy access to Italy, and Paolo Ferrari echoed the voice of Dumas, while the playwrights of the 19th Century echoed Dumas's successors. All the forms of that century had their representatives in Italy; the first romanticist was Paolo Ferrari ; the naturalistic school counted Giovanni Verga and Marco Praga among their numbers; Sabatino Lopez, Giannino Antona-Traversi and Alfredo Testoni represented lively comedy ; Silvio Zamaldi, Roberto Bracco, and Dario Niccodemi

stood for bourgeois drama, while the northern trends revealed themselves in the Italian theatre through the works of Giuseppe Giacosa, whose fine comedy *Come le foglie*, grafted a Christian and Mediterranean tone on the deep voice of the northern and Protestant author of *The Doll's House*. Severe and alone, essentially literary, remained the drama of D'Annunzio, commonly defined as "Poetic Drama" from which sprang, at a due distance, the plays in verse and in rhythmic prose of Ercole Luigi Morselli, of Sem Benelli and of Nino Berrini.

After the War the ranks of all those Italian writers of varied tendency and temperament were somewhat confused by the arrival of a small but warlike band who, clearing all before them, immediately attacked the positions already held by the above-named writers. This was the pre-revolution, and must be admitted that the futurists, led by Marinetti, were its heralds.

The new drama held a powerful attraction for the spirit. The works of Luigi Pirandello, of Rosso di San Secondo, Luigi Chiarelli, Enrico Cavacchioli, Luigi Antonelli, Raffaele Calzini, Cesare Giulio Viola, Gino Rocca, Guglielmo Zorzi, and Ugo Betti were all violently and harshly attacked. But as always, the enlightened minority overcame the unprepared majority. That which has been defended in the name of cultural exigencies asserted itself gradually for its artistic value and because, while the dramatists are developing their themes with an increasingly sure technique, the public, having overcome its first diffidence, with increasing confidence and the will to understand, approached the works of those artists who since then have never lacked the approval of playgoers. The author who had the most to contend with was undoubtedly Luigi Pirandello. From his first comedy *Se non così*, given at the Theatre Manzoni in 1912, until the production of his most famous play, *Six Personages in Search of an Author*, and right through the series of his works until the very last, his plays waged a continuous battle against the current of a troubled river.

Rosso di San Secondo had no easier start. His *Marionette che passione*, a highly original work, of great dramatic power, and a basic element in the history of the development of the Italian drama, had a hard time in reaching the stage; the first performance of another of his comedies, no less original and strong, *La bella addormentata*, aroused a real storm of controversy in Milan. This was the period when

authors were hissed ; they accepted these adversities as later they accepted their war wounds, and playwrights boasted of these trials as of some hardy adventure. They used to say, " Not all who are hissed are great dramatists ; but all the best new Italian playwrights are hissed." Success came later and was naturally of great significance.

During this period there was no lack of great discoveries : Luigi Chiarelli's grotesque play *La maschera e il volto* was produced by Virgilio Talli's splendid company ; Talli was a manager and producer of the very first order and was both the herald and the apostle of the new theatre. His production of the following plays, for instance, was unforgettable : Gabriele D'Annunzio's *La figlia di Jorio*, Ercole Luigi Morselli's *Glauco*, *L' uccello del Paradiso* by Enrico Cavacchioli, *Marionette che passione* and *La Bella addormentata* by Rosso di San Secondo, *Tignola* by Sem Benelli, and countless other plays by modern Italian dramatists.

During the last fifteen years Italian drama has been represented abroad almost exclusively by Pirandello.* But the small warlike band of his younger contemporaries has also brought to the theatre a new spirit, more or less freed from foreign influence. Pirandello's work undoubtedly constituted an imposing mass quite apart from the others ; from its very roots it belongs essentially to the school of Aristophanes. In discussing his work, which has earned a place on the stage of every country, mention is unfailingly made of the " central problem." But one must realize that the " central problem " to Pirandello, dramatist, was the performance, namely the stage expression of the myths of his imagination. Pirandello's drama, in its most vital and lasting manifestations, is closely linked out not so much with this or that philosophy, as with the eternal position of fancy. In the work of Rosso di San Secondo, on the other hand, one finds more of an Elizabethan spirit, it is less dialectical and more freely imaginative than that of Pirandello. To this group belong also the works of Enrico Cavacchioli, Luigi Antonelli, Massimo Bontempelli, Gherardo Gherardi and some of the dramatic fantasies of Ugo Betti ; while the grotesque plays of Antonelli, Chiarelli, Bonelli, and others might be considered along with the bourgeois theatre, like a clever and often fantastic design on the reverse of the same medal.

* See L. Petech : " Pirandello's Dramas and Stories " (Calcutta Review, April 1939).

The fourth form which has made its appearance during the last twenty-five years, is the Italian "*intimista*" movement, movement closely allied to the extreme contemporary form of classicism, a classicism, revealed in a special objectivity, in an almost complete detachment from any incident, rugged and aggressive in style with a designedly classic intent, in the sense of the term as accepted in our day.

After the magnificent collective effort made by Italian writers during and immediately after the war, the movement has now entered upon a calmer period. But this phenomenon may be due to a special cause. It may be considered that the events, which occurred with the advent of Fascism in 1920, possessed a spiritual attraction for Italians and have set problems of new social ethics before artists.

The collective reaction of the Italian drama to the bourgeois spirit and to the fragmentary and episodic mentality took place simultaneously with the rise of the new political feeling, and, as an inevitable consequence, is likely to lead in the near future to the development of new principles in the artistic field. Just as new and original Italian institutions have been established and developed together with new moral and juridical currents of an equally original character, so may a new form of national drama be expected. Perhaps it will be described as the drama of the Fascist Revolution prepared by the writers of the pre-revolution period, several of whom are still in their full productive activity and much appreciated by playgoers.

Certain playwrights with different tendencies and temperaments have been acquiring considerable popularity in Italy during the past few years, and some have even obtained success in foreign countries. Among these are Rino Alessi, a writer of thoughtful historic and social dramas, Alberto Colantuoni, Guido Cantini, Alessandro De Stefani, Guglielmo Giannini, the author of successful detective plays, Giuseppe Romualdi, Vincenzo Trieri and a little band of authors of amusing and well-written comic and sentimental plays; the foremost of these are Aldo De Benedetti, Luigi Bonelli, Sergio Pugliese, Piero Mazzolotti and Carlo Veneziani.

However, Gioacchino Forzano, a hundred per cent. play-wright, is the best known of all, both in Italy and abroad. He has chosen to follow in the footsteps of Sardou, rather than to seek new trends and

assert his own personality. A man of considerable talent, he has thought only of his public. He handles the sentimental comedy, the complicated historic drama and the libretto of an opera with equal facility. He has even written two historic plays on plots outlined by Benito Mussolini: *Campo di Maggio* and *Villafranca*, the former having been translated and performed in almost every tongue.

This is a brief survey of the main outlines of the Italian drama during the past twenty-five years. During this period, a revolution has occurred which cannot yet be said to be over, since on its foundation a work is being constructed corresponding exactly with present-day Italian mentality and sensibility. The young writers of Italy are taking up their positions in regard to the problem of the stage. By common consent they are basing their activities on the principle that at the root of all great dramas there must also lie a deep religious concept, such religious sentiment being freely interpreted and not bound by forms and precepts.

At the same time the younger generation asserts that there can be no great drama without a language adapted to this religious sense, thus setting clear and well-defined limits to style, and establishing the idea that the theatre should go beyond the narrow confines of petty details and reproduce history as represented by the daily life of man. A brilliant future for Italian drama may confidently be forecast as the outcome of the noble and courageous task to which these young men have set their hands.

IS METAPHYSICS POSSIBLE ? A STUDY OF KANT *

PROF. N. K. BRAHMA

Presidency College

KANT perceived that while the sciences were flourishing day by day, metaphysics could not make any progress or achieve any result which was acceptable to all. He undertook the task of investigating thoroughly into the matter and published the results of his enquiry in the Critique of Pure Reason. He found that while science was engaged for the acquisition of knowledge in a field where knowledge was possible, metaphysics had been pursuing a fruitless endeavour, because the indispensable conditions of knowledge were not available in the realm of objects which metaphysics chose to study. He concluded that there was no hope of metaphysics ever yielding better results simply because it was attempting an impossible task, *viz.*, seeking to attain knowledge where the conditions of knowledge were not at all obtainable.

The above conclusion is attended with serious consequences. Kant claimed to have revolutionised the course of philosophy, but whatever might be the justice of that claim, there can hardly be any doubt that he wanted to be claimed as the last and the final philosopher in this universe by striking a death-blow to metaphysics and thereby causing its extinction once for all. Had the philosophical world seriously listened to and accepted Kant's arguments, there would have been no philosophy after him. The very fact that within a very short time of the publication of his Critiques, the most sublime system of metaphysics was preached in his own country by Hegel, the reputation of which is being gloriously maintained by his followers for more than a century, proves that the world did not pay great heed to the agnostic and sceptical conclusions of Kant, and that the great homage which he has received is due not to the destructive but to the constructive part of his philosophy.

Kant tells us clearly that knowledge is restricted to the objects presented to us in experience and that things which cannot be given in any possible experience can never be known. By experience Kant

* Read before the Calcutta Philosophical Society.

means sense-intuition and Kant unambiguously states that "there is no intuition at all beyond the field of the sensibility."¹ The categories of the understanding are themselves nothing but logical functions, and as such do not produce even the vaguest concept of an object, but "require some sensuous intuition as a basis." The categories can give us knowledge because their objects can be presented in sense-experience, while the ideas of reason or the "pure rational concepts" or what Kant designates also as "necessary concepts" can never give us knowledge because their "objects cannot be given in any experience."²

Kant holds that the objects of the pure rational concepts cannot be *known* but may be *thought* of. If those objects or the noumena could be *known*, they would have ceased to be noumena. They are noumenal because they transcend the conditions of possible experience, and as knowledge is confined to the limits of possible experience, the pure rational concepts, just because they are such and cannot be presented in sense-intuition, cannot be supposed to be *known*. These cannot have their confirmation in sense-experience and hence it cannot be definitely stated whether these ideas of reason are mere chimeras or whether objects do really correspond to them.

Kant tells us that the constructive part of his philosophy is much more important than his negative conclusions. That metaphysics is not possible and that scientific or accurate knowledge is not obtainable with regard to anything supposed to lie beyond the phenomenal universe had been proved by Hume already. Kant thinks that it is his merit to point out that although things-in-themselves or noumena cannot be known, still phenomena irresistibly point towards them. Phenomena do not contain their sufficient explanation within them and they cannot but point to something else. But what this something is cannot be *known* because the condition *sine qua non* for knowledge, *viz.*, presentability in sense-experience, is wanting in it. Metaphysics has its value as a natural tendency of the human mind but not as yielding any definite piece of knowledge. He gives us definitely to understand that he is not a sceptic like Hume, although he is for the destruction of all dogmatic metaphysical speculation.

¹ Prolegomena, p. 77 (Carus's Translation).

² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

Kant is undoubtedly the father of modern agnosticism which emphatically declares the existence of the noumenal reality but at the same-time boldly denies its knowledge.

There cannot be any doubt that Kant thinks that the objects of the pure rational concepts cannot be known in the same way in which the objects of the categories are known, and it is true that Kant has done an inestimable service to the cause of philosophy by pointing out the really transcendent character of the so-called rational concepts. If God or the soul is perceived as a sense-object it is certainly not the God or the soul which metaphysics wants to find, but a God or a soul having colour or touch or taste or smell or sound or all of these together, because such an object alone could be presented in sense-intuition. It ought to be pointed out again and again for the benefit of untrained minds that the reality that underlies the appearances and is fundamental can never be presented as an object as distinct from the subject much less as a sense-object. The very presentation as an object (as distinct from the subject) would reduce it to an appearance. The nature of noumenal reality precludes its presentation in sense-experience, and it unavoidably follows that it can never come within the scope of knowledge which is restricted to the field of sensuous intuition.

If the premises of Kant be accepted, the conclusion which he draws can hardly be denied. If knowledge is confined to sense-experience, and if "there is no intuition at all beyond the field of sensibility"¹ the pure rational concepts "which never can be given in any possible experience"² of course cannot be known, i.e., "discovered or confirmed by experience." But we have to consider carefully whether there is any justification for restricting knowledge to the field of sensuous intuition. It is true that what is not an object of the senses cannot be known *in the same way* in which a sense-object can be known. But does it follow that what is not a sense-object cannot be known at all? If it is a technical sense in which the term "knowledge" is used, and if Kant means by knowledge only sense-knowledge, then it is mere tautology to hold that what does not form an object of sense-intuition cannot be known. If, on the other hand, the term knowledge is used in a general sense—and Kant's writings hardly leave any doubt that it is used in that sense—then

¹ Prolegomena, p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Kant's conclusion is nothing short of sounding the death-knell of philosophy. However eager he might be to show his difference with Hume, the net result of his philosophy is identical with that of Hume, *viz.*, that our knowledge can never extend beyond the region of sense-experience. The questions as to whether Kant asserted the reality of noumena, or whether Kant showed another way of realising them in the Critique of Practical Reason, or whether Hume also in his private life believed in the reality of things which he dismissed as a philosopher, are of little importance from the standpoint of philosophy. The crude empiricism that cannot find truth in anything higher than sense-experience is nothing other than untrained common-sense (guised in the garb of a philosophy) that is anxious to strike at the very root of reason simply because it cannot understand its higher deliverances. If sense-experience is the only solid foundation of knowledge and if the 'rational concepts' cannot be tested as to whether they are objectively valid or are mere chimeras simply because these "cannot be discovered or confirmed by any experience" ¹, then there cannot be any justification for philosophy and no useful purpose can be served by it. No rational enquiry or philosophy is needed to prove the truth of an object presented to sense-experience and if the confirmation by sense-experience is the ultimate criterion of truth and hence also of knowledge, philosophy will not help us in the least. A philosophy that deprecates reason and exalts sense even to the point of declaring that sense-experience is the sole and final criterion of truth contains its own refutation within itself. A *philosophy* of bare empiricism is almost a contradiction in terms. If we are committed to confine ourselves to the region of sense, we can hardly be consistent in offering the pride of place to reason; and philosophy is nothing if it is not rationalisation or interpretation by reason.

Kant was a firm believer in the truth of mathematics and the laws of the physical sciences and he found the way to save them. He was brought up in the school of pietism and he anxiously strove to maintain the integrity of morals. Kant had no similar regard for philosophy, and he took no interest in other philosophers.² He tells us frankly that he was never able to find the writings of learned philosophers

¹ Prolegomena, p. 91.

² Theodore P. Wrigut, Stickenburg, p. 124 (quoted in Carus's Translation of Prolegomena, p. 283).

“to have advanced the science of metaphysics in the least ”¹ and that the question as to the value of metaphysical speculations and the natural tendency of the human mind to engage itself in them belonged not “to the system of metaphysics but to anthropology.”² His statement that it is the “young thinkers ” who are “so partial to metaphysics of the truly dogmatic kind ”³ and the consequent implication of it that it is his old age and mature thinking that saved him from fruitless metaphysical endeavours, leave hardly any doubt that he had very little regard for philosophy and that he was not at all anxious to save it. Not being a metaphysician at heart, he could never love philosophy and find entrance into its esoteric regions and thereby experience the joy that comes from the realisation of truths intuited or perceived by something other than the senses.. That Kant asserted the existence of the Self, God and Future Life in his Critique of Practical Reason does not show that he did not want to dismiss metaphysical speculation altogether. If he asserts them, it is by way of faith and not by way of knowledge. If he tells us that those noumenal realities cannot be had by way of sense-knowledge, he tells us an insignificant thing. If he tells us that philosophy cannot help us in the acquisition of knowledge of those realities, he has unequivocally given up philosophy. Those who believe that the universe can be rationally interpreted and think that reason is the supreme guide in our attempt to penetrate into the nature of the fundamental reality have nothing to be proud of the philosophy of Kant except in so far as it furnishes an illustrious occasion for proving that a philosophy without emphasis on reason is bound to be a stupendous failure.

We have to understand clearly the difference between the positions of Bradley and Samkara on the one hand and that of Kant on the other. It is true that both Bradley and Samkara hold that the Absolute or the Fundamental Reality transcends reason and that they speak of an intuition apprehending the Absolute where the bifurcating function of the intellect ceases to work. There are some who think that Kant also tells us similarly that the noumenal reality cannot be known by reason. But there is a world of difference between the views of Kant and Samkara and it is a mistake to suppose that they agree in holding the incompetence of reason for the apprehension of

¹ Prolegomena, pp. 142-43.

Ibid., p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Reality. According to Kant, reason engages itself in an altogether fruitless endeavour when it performs metaphysical speculations. It has no useful function to serve in the sphere of metaphysics and it only deludes us and also itself when it fondly hopes to give us any useful information in that sphere. But Samkara tells us just the opposite. Reason is our only guide in the sphere of metaphysics and it not only serves the most useful purpose there but without it there is no other way of approach to Reality. Philosophy or metaphysics or speculative reason, in the highest sense of the term, alone can take us nearest to Reality and although the discursive or analytical functioning of reason is left far behind in the highest flights of reason, and although even the synthetic working of reason can no longer be discerned as a separate process, still the realisation that emerges is nothing other than the fruition of reason. Although in the final step or at the stage of realisation, it may not be designated as a rational process, although reason must "commit suicide," as Bradley puts it, and the distinction between the 'that' and the 'what' must be transcended in the apprehension of Reality, still what emerges comes as a result of the prior functioning of reason. The direct apprehension or intuition only follows the culmination of the functioning of reason. Although Reality is self-revealing and is not the *object* of anything and, strictly speaking, it is not even its own object, still the preparation for the revelation is all performed through the functioning of reason. It is pure reason, that is, purified or fully developed reason, that can find itself merged in its source, *viz*, the Absolute.

Ratiocination or the functioning of reason is helpful in removing all doubts as to the possibility of the existence of the Absolute, and Samkara and the other Vedantic thinkers are unanimous in holding that this function, *viz*., removing of doubts that may arise with regard to the existence of Brahman, is eminently fulfilled by philosophy. Kant unambiguously holds not only that "Reason is quite incapable of *proving* the existence of a Supreme Being" ¹ but also that "No human intelligence can ever understand how immortality and the existence of God are possible." ² We can understand Samkara and Bradley when they hold that the *realisation* of the Absolute transcends reason; but when Kant tells us that reason cannot even understand

¹ The Critique of Pure Reason, p. 667.

² The Critique of Practical Reason, para. 140.

how the existence of God is possible, it is nothing short of the denial of the usefulness of philosophy. If philosophy cannot even show us the *possibility* of the existence of the Supreme Reality, it ought to be dismissed summarily. This is what Kant wants. It is therefore wrong to class Kant along with Samkara, Bradley and such other thinkers who recognise fully the usefulness and importance of philosophy in dealing with suprasensible truths and emphatically declare that the *possibility* of the existence and of the realisation of the Absolute is proved—and all doubts about the impossibility are removed—by philosophy.

Even in the Critique of Practical Reason, where Kant admits the existence of God, Freedom and Immortality, these are taken only as postulates or "presuppositions which are practically necessary." The fact that even here a distinction is still maintained between 'speculative' or 'theoretical knowledge,' and a "purely practical use," which latter alone we are entitled to make of the ideas of God, Freedom and Immortality, shows that Kant is not describing the highest state of realisation which transcends all distinction between theoretical knowledge and practical use. With Kant, those ideas are nothing more than presuppositions which make moral life possible. They are objects of faith which induce moral actions. Moreover, the way in which the existence of God is presupposed, and the fact that only an external connection is established between happiness and virtue, hardly leave any doubt that Kant is not attempting to establish or describe any fundamental reality *realised* by him. Those who find in the Critique of Practical Reason the revival of the dismissed Ideas of the Pure Reason either mistake the shadow for the reality or really import their own thoughts into Kant. The unsatisfied desire in the mind of the reader of the Critique of Pure Reason seems to be partially satisfied even when something like the shadow of the object of desire makes its appearance in the Critique of Practical Reason. The description in the Critique of Practical Reason does not bear testimony to a reality realised or experienced ; it rather suits an object that is set up by faith or only presupposed. Kant himself admits that they do not furnish any ground for the extension of speculative knowledge ; and, if they do not add to knowledge, philosophy may turn a deaf ear to them. If the Critique of Pure Reason seeks to annihilate metaphysics or philosophy altogether, there is no reason to suppose that the Critique of Practical Reason accords to philosophy any better claim for existence.

The ideas of God, freedom and immortality are valid for practical purposes merely and not for speculative reason. This statement is clear.

If these highest ideas are real, it is only reason, the most precious possession of human beings, that is competent to apprehend them. If it is held that practical reason or will perceives their reality, either the statement is unmeaning as it distinguishes between reason and reason, or the will here stands for blind instinct or faith, which latter is perhaps Kant's meaning. There is no other clear perception in the highest levels than the "perception of reason" as Jacobi puts it, and as Kant denies any such thing as the perception of reason, it is clear that Kant hardly reached those high levels of the synthetic intuitive working of reason and that he was still roaming either in the lower regions of the halting, doubting, discursive understanding or in those of blind faith or instinct.

The main point at issue is clear. We have to decide whether Kant is right in denying not only the value and validity of metaphysical concepts but also the usefulness of philosophy altogether. Does philosophy inevitably seduce us to illusory regions or does it, on the contrary, constitute the most valuable approach to truth and reality? It is useless to discuss whether Kant admitted the existence of God, freedom and other ideas. The only point at issue is whether philosophy is useful in giving us knowledge of reality. Kant has given an unambiguous answer to the question everywhere in his writings. We have now to examine the truth or otherwise of Kant's views on the function of philosophy.

Kant holds that we can acquire knowledge only of things which can form objects of possible experience, and by experience Kant means sense-experience. Those things which are by their very nature precluded from being objects of possible sense-experience, such as those with which metaphysics deals, can never be known. We have already pointed out how this contention would do away not only with speculative philosophy but with all philosophy whatsoever not excluding Kant's critical philosophy. When we recognise the truth of a logical argument such as All B is C ; All A is B ; therefore All A is C we take the argument as true not because A, B and C are things which can form objects of possible sense-experience but because of some necessity of reason. We do not care to know at all what A, B and C imply or stand for. Even if it be assumed that they are objects of possible sense

experience, the connection between them may be one which cannot be sensed but has to be rationally apprehended. In an instance of causal connection, Kant himself admits, the connection cannot be experienced by the senses. The truth that is declared, that A is the cause of B, cannot be tested merely by the experience of A and B by means of the senses. Causality is a category of the understanding and it is the understanding alone that can perceive it. The categories apply to objects of sense and hence physics can give us knowledge. But the ideas of Reason deal with objects not belonging to the region of sense. Hence metaphysics cannot give us knowledge beyond mere thoughts and speculations. In the example we have given, we do not know what A, B and C, are—whether they belong to the region of sense or whether they belong to the intelligible world, but still there is no hindrance to the acceptance of the truth of the argument. The truth or falsity of an argument is perceived not by the senses but by reason. Where the sense shows us something different from what we have arrived at through reason, we do not accept the testimony of the senses so long as a defect in the argument cannot be discovered. Through mathematical calculation, I find out that a star should be visible from a particular place at a particular point of time. If actually it is not visible from that particular place at that particular time, I think that there must have been some error of calculation. I am not sure that the instruments of vision are working accurately so long as I cannot discover any error in the calculation. The confidence in reason is much stronger than what we have in the testimony of our senses. That the Sun is so much bigger than what we see is being accepted not because it is possible to measure it by means of sense-devices but because our reason compels us to believe in it.

We have seen that sense-experience cannot show us causality beyond the mere existence of things or phenomena supposed to be causally connected, but still we have to accept the truth of the principle of causality merely because reason compels us to accept it. Kant tells us that as the ideas of God, freedom and immortality and all other metaphysical notions cannot form objects of possible sense-experience, they cannot be known. But how does Kant know the truth of his argument? He cannot have knowledge, on his own supposition, of the truth of his argument concerning things which transcend sense-experience. Either he knows his argument to be true or he does not know it. If he does not know that his argument is valid, he is

asking us to accept something which he himself does not know and so he is deceiving us and also himself. If, on the other hand, he knows his argument to be true, he has falsified his own position, viz., that we cannot have any knowledge of things transcending the senses. In his "Refutation of Idealism," Kant himself, like "the young thinkers who are so partial to dogmatic metaphysics," betrays his knowledge of the things-in-themselves as causes. He also knows that the things-in-themselves are many in number. The categories of number and causality which are applicable to phenomena only are applied by Kant himself to his noumenal realities.

Kant's view that confirmation by sense-experience is the only criterion of truth cannot be maintained. Kant clearly tells us that in the case of human beings a distinction between actuality and possibility has always to be made. As our knowledge involves the exercise of two heterogeneous faculties—understanding for conceptions, and sensible perceptions for objects corresponding to conceptions—the distinction between the actual and the possible cannot be ignored. "Were our intelligence perceptive, its objects would always be actual."¹ There may be "some unconditionally necessary existence" in which "the distinction of possible and actual no longer holds good," but when we are speaking of human reason, the distinction between the actual and the possible cannot but be maintained, because human reason may conceive something to be possible which may not be actual and consequently the actual can never be deduced from possibility. Kant's meaning is very clear in these sentences from the Critique of Judgment. Human reason may conceive of the merely possible which may or may not be actual. It is only those ideas which can find confirmation in sense-experience that can have a claim to actuality. But if this criterion is adhered to, not only philosophy, dealing with noumena, has got to be dismissed, but even Kant's favourite sciences, physics and mathematics, cannot be retained. Are the electrons and protons, the positrons and the neutrons, objects of sense-experience? Are causality and such other relations perceived by the senses or by reason? Do we grant the necessity of the geometrical deduction that an equilateral triangle is also equiangular because of its possible confirmation by sense-experience? Do we perceive the truth of the mathematical computation or of the logical argument by

¹ The Critique of Judgment, 414, 415.

means of the senses ? Do we have a sense-intuition of *truth* ? We may have knowledge of phenomena or objects of possible sense-perception because these are confirmed by sense-experience, but how is truth itself known ? Is truth phenomenal or noumenal ? By the physical object we no longer mean an object of possible sense-experience,—that is a thing of the past, Modern physics no longer deals with the sense-objects but with much subtler things. These are things perceived by the eye of the understanding or reason and their effects only can be perceived physically. The divergence of opinions which Kant noticed amongst philosophers has also begun to characterise physicists. How can we hold that we have actuality in the realm of physics but only possibility in philosophy ? The same reason which led Kant to dismiss philosophical knowledge is sufficient to reject modern physics.

The fact is that the senses form a very inadequate criterion of truth. We do not accept what the senses show us to be actual if and so long as our reason does not show us the possibility of its being actual. So long as we are in a moving train, our eyes show the adjacent things to be moving ; but we do not take the appearance to be real merely on the testimony of the senses. Our reason can never explain how the motion of the train can cause actual movement of the adjacent things and hence we reject the report of the sense-organ and explain the appearance of motion as illusory. It is reason that decides whether the report of a particular sense-organ should be accepted or not and it would be controverting the actual state of things if it is held that the findings of reason have to be tested by the testimony of the senses. The fact that illusions are common experiences and that the reports of the senses vary so often and so much from individual to individual ought alone to discredit the senses as criteria of truth. It may, of course, be said that the mistake of one sense-organ is corrected by another sense-organ and can be corrected by that alone. But this contention ignores the fundamental fact that if one sense-organ can and does actually show us something at one time to be very different from what is actual, there is no guarantee that another sense-organ or that very sense-organ on another occasion will not do the same.

Kant hints at the truth when he tells us that the distinction between the actual and the possible is transcended only at the level of “ unconditionally necessary existence of original ground ” and at every stage short of that level the distinction holds good. “ An intelligence

for whom this distinction did not exist might say: All objects that I know are, that is, exist; and such a being could never suppose some objects to be possible that have no existence."¹ If the distinction between the actual and the possible disappears, it is because genuine actuality is now reached and the region of mere possibility is left behind. There is hardly any doubt that Kant here conceives of the stage where genuine actuality may be realised and also of the conditions which make such realisation possible. It is really unfortunate that the empiricism of Hume should have impressed him so deeply as not to enable him to reap the full benefit of his own valuable suggestions. As compared with the actuality which Kant speaks of in the above passage, the actuality furnished by the senses is only spurious. ✓ What the senses show us may or may not be true; really, they do not give us anything more than the possible. It is because of this inherent defect that Spinoza places adventitious ideas or the ideas furnished by the senses so low in the scale of knowledge. Truth must, in the last analysis, be found to be self-revealing. The truth of one thing may be furnished by another and the truth of this latter may be given by a third something, but until we come to such a thing which declares its own truth without reference to anything else, we cannot escape an infinite regress. ✓ Kant rightly suggests that there is a level of experience where there is no distinction between the possible and the actual, where everything that reveals itself carries the unquestionable criterion of its own actuality and where there is no room for any doubt, *viz.*, what appears may be only possible and not actual. Kant also rightly thinks that the limitations which apply to us, human beings, furnished with two such different conditions of knowledge as thought and perception, may not hold good of "every intelligence" and "all thinking beings." It is really assuring that Kant does not think of a being endowed with more powerful sense-organs or with a thousand other senses in order to conceive of a position where the limitations of a merely possible knowledge may be transcended but suggests the existence of some higher and more perfect intelligence or thinking being where the conditions are realised. ✓ It is true, as Kant holds, that our understanding or reason, as we are ordinarily acquainted with its working, cannot give us any experience of that higher level where everything that

¹ The Critique of Judgment, 415.

is thought of is actualised or rather where there is no room for any distinction between possibility and actuality, and that ordinarily we can only *think* of such a stage but cannot *know* or understand the nature of such experience or of any being having that experience. But it is wrong to suppose therefrom that the defect which reason experiences in not being able to reach actuality is due to its dealing with objects which cannot have any confirmation or rejection in any possible sense-experience. (Reason does not want any confirmation by the senses when it is dealing with noumena or the intelligible world.) It knows that if it has not yet been able to reach the depths where the truth of the fundamental reality may be known, the senses which lie in the outer skirts and are much further removed than itself from the fundamental reality which is of the nature of consciousness or spirit, cannot even be thought of as having any competence in that matter. ✓ The suggestion that reason is not here competent to give us knowledge because it is not getting that aid from sense-experience which it receives in other spheres, appears ridiculous to reason, because although it has not yet been able to achieve its end, still it has made sufficient progress at this stage to understand that the sense-organs have no competence to give us any knowledge of reality, and that the information which it itself has secured even at this stage is much more valuable than the testimony of the senses. ✓ (Reason is much nearer to Reality than sense and when it climbs loftier heights than those which are ordinarily attained, it reaches that intuitive or "perceptive" level where the distinction between the possible and the actual is transcended, and, being then acquainted directly with reality, it also realises that although sense and understanding both attempt to know it indirectly, the medium which the senses employ is much cruder than that which the understanding utilises.) ✓

✓ The whole mistake of Empiricism and of Kant lies in supposing that the knowledge gained through sense-perception is actual and somehow or other is the most perfect form of knowledge which human beings can attain. It is true that the directness and immediacy, the conviction and certainty, that we do find in sense-perception are wanting in the mere deductions or inferences of the understanding or reason. But it is wrong to suppose therefrom that there cannot be any higher level of the working of human reason where a greater directness and immediacy and a higher feeling

of certainty than that afforded by sense may be available. Truth is self-revealing and the conviction or immediate awareness of truth is its only criterion. Where this immediate or direct awareness is reached, truth impresses itself on us. We have an analogue of this direct awareness in sense-perception and therefore we ordinarily have such a conviction about its truth. But real immediacy can only be found in the case of the Absolute Consciousness where there is no intervention of ideas, where the ideal and the actual coincide, where nothing intervenes between the knower and the known, because—the knower finds itself identical with the known. Kant also conceives of such an intelligence, but with him it is only a mere idea.~ Something like the immediate awareness which the Absolute or Pure Consciousness or Spirit has of itself is found where the consciousness that is revealed in and through the subject finds its correlate in the corresponding level of the object through which also the same consciousness is manifested.~ In the sense-level the correspondence between the subject-consciousness and the object-consciousness is established by means of the intuitions of sense. In the higher level of the understanding, this correspondence is sought to be established by means of the processes of reasoning, and something analogous to immediate awareness or conviction of truth is reached. Mathematical certainty and logical certainty belong to this level. The certainty of metaphysics or philosophy also belongs to this category. Still higher lies the stage of real immediate awareness which characterises the pure spirit or Pure Consciousness which is also identical with Absolute Consciousness inasmuch as there is in it no touch of matter which could make it limited in any way.~ On this theory Pure Consciousness or Spirit is the fundamental Reality and Truth. It is self-revealing and there is no gap between the subject and the object here, because here the subject-object distinction is altogether transcended. This alone is the region of Truth as it is in itself. In the lower regions, however, there is something like an appearance of truth.~ Wherever the gulf between the subject and the object is bridged over even partially there is an appearance of truth and a feeling of conviction to the extent to which the gap is healed. In sense-perception, a correspondence is established between the subject-consciousness and the object-consciousness and because the disparity and distance are removed to some extent due to the correspondence, conviction arises and sense-experience is taken to be true.

Processes of reasoning also help to remove the gap between the subject and the object. So long as a correspondence is not established in the higher sphere of the understanding, obscurity remains and conviction is not reached. But as soon as the correspondence is established, clear perception results and a conviction arises that truth has been attained. The correspondence that is required in the case of gross objects of sense-perception can only be established by the working of the sense-organs. The sense-organs, however, are altogether helpless in establishing the correspondence that is necessary when we are dealing with subtler objects, that is, objects with which the understanding deals. Kant is wrong in supposing that the certainty that is reached in mathematical knowledge is due to its connection with sense-perception. In mathematical and logical reasoning, it is the working of the understanding that establishes the correspondence required in this higher level. Higher levels require correspondence of a higher type and require working of higher faculties. It is wrong to suppose that as there is no possibility of the correspondence being established by the sense-organs, there cannot be any possibility of the correspondence being established at all. The only argument that Kant gives us is that as we have no experience of the perceptive working of reason, that is, no experience where reason alone produces conviction or certainty, we have to declare that such working is non-existent in human beings. The whole argument is based on the testimony of experience. There is not even the semblance of any really *transcendental* enquiry in Kant's Critiques. If any human being declares that he has experience of such working of his reason, Kant's argument at once ought to break down. There is no other support of the argument that human reason cannot attain such knowledge than that such knowledge is not being attained or that Kant has no experience of any such knowledge. If we begin at the other end and regard the immediate awareness of spirit, and not sense-knowledge to be the type of perfect knowledge, there will be no difficulty in supposing that if the senses can imitate that immediate awareness in the lower level of physical objects, reason also can approximate that immediacy of awareness to a much better extent in the higher level of intelligible objects. Reason appears to be a poor substitute for Sense, if Sense and Matter be regarded as supreme realities but it cannot but appear to be much more valuable than Sense when we come to realise that it is Spirit and not Matter that is the central principle of the universe.

MODERNISM IN BUDDHIST EDUCATION

K. K. MOOKERJEE, M.A., B.T., DIP.SP.ENG.

Lecturer in Education, Calcutta University.

IF we look into the history of Indian Philosophy, we come to find that Buddhism exerted a considerable influence not only upon the philosophic thoughts of India and her religious ideals, but also upon the educational side, where its influence is very profound and far-reaching.

In a word, Buddhism may be said to have broken down the monopoly and some of the old conservative traditions of the Brahmanic schools. Buddhism placed both Religion and Education on a more popular basis than Brahmanism. In Brahmanism we come across so many prohibitions, restrictions and limitations in the field of Education. Higher learning was strictly always in the hands of Brahman teachers. Higher education in the sense of intellectual development and spiritual advancement, by the study of the Vedas, Upanishads, Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Religion, Metaphysics, and so on—all this was accessible only to the twice-born castes or Dvijas. The Sudras were as a rule debarred from all this.

Even among the twice-born castes, there were also provisions for different kinds of curricula and courses of studies, and different kinds of vows, observances and ceremonies of initiation to be performed by each caste at the time of entering a student-life. Buddhism, on the contrary, offered facilities for education to all alike—to pupils of all castes and creeds. Education, in modern times, is regarded as the birth-right of an individual, and hence it is meant for the rich and the poor, the high and the low, and for everybody. This is what is known as "Democracy in Education"—and this ideal was recognised in Buddhist Education. This is also the ideal of 'Mass Education,' as advocated in modern times.

Hence we may conclude that in those days of antiquity people realised the importance of mass literacy and advocated the wide diffusion and expansion of education throughout the whole country. This, in fact, is nothing but suggesting in those old days the demand for the growth of elementary schools in our country. We are now all

crying for compulsory Primary Education; but efforts were being made at that time for the rapid spread of education among the masses. We are much surprised to find that the percentage of literacy among the Buddhist population in Asoka's time was much higher than it is now in many parts of British India. The great reformers of education in the Western World—like Vittorino da Feltre, Erasmus, Comenius and others—have all been made famous in the history of Education only by preaching the ideal of democratic or universal education, and by bringing the rudiments of learning within the reach of all alike, irrespective of castes and creeds.

The second great contribution of Buddhism to Education is that it founded education on a comparatively more secular basis. Education, they realised, should not be dominated through and through by religious and moral ideals. The Buddhist Monastery became not merely a place where simply religious and metaphysical doctrines were preached and discussed. Even those students who had no ambition to pass the rigid and austere life of an ascetic or who did not intend to pass their whole life in monasteries were also admitted, and they received education *for education's sake*. They would take part in debates, discussions, meetings, literary gatherings, and so on. It was, of course, a logical conclusion from Buddha's view of life that for rapid progress in spiritual culture and improvement, a life of retirement from the world and a life of meditation in the solitude of a forest is necessary and advisable. This sort of life was prescribed only for the most earnest. But, for the majority, patient studies in the monasteries were recommended.

Now, we may pass on to the great Buddhist centres of learning which may be said to be the ancient Indian Universities. We may consider, for instance, the centres like Nalanda, Vikramasila, Odantapuri, and Sreedhanyakatak.

The practice of Buddhist education varied much in different countries and at different times and we have no evidence as to how these monasteries gradually grew up into Universities. We get a valuable picture of Buddhist Education, as it existed in India, from the records of certain Chinese Buddhist scholars who visited India in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D. Mention may be made of the names of Fa-hien (399-414 A.D.), Hiuen-Tsiang (629-645 A.D.), and I-Tsing.

We find in the records of Fa-hien that there existed a Mahayana monastery and also a Hinayana monastery at Pataliputra (or modern

Patna). These two contained about seven hundred monks. He also found a monastery at Tamralipta (modern Tamluk) near the mouth of the Hooghly.

Nalanda, of course, was the most important Buddhist centre of learning at the time of the visit of Hiuen-Tsiang to India. It was famous far and wide for its learning. Priests and monks to the number of several thousands lived here. From morning till night they were engaged in the discussions of the Tripitaka. If people desired to enter into this seat of learning and take part in discussions, the keeper of the gate (better known as Dvarapandita—the gate-keeper of the gate of learning) proposed some hard questions which the entrants had to answer. The position of these Dvarapanditas was just like that of Provosts in the residential Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Many of the fresh entrants were unable to answer the questions and solve the problems placed before them, and consequently they had to retire.

After Hiuen-Tsiang's departure, another Chinese scholar, I-Tsing, came to India. He stayed at Nalanda which was still a flourishing centre of learning. The monastery had 8 halls and 300 apartments. The land in its possession contained two hundred villages. It is now a modern village (Baragaon), 7 miles from Rajgeer. There were 3,000 monks assembled from China, Egypt and Central Asia who studied here and received their board and lodging free. These ancient Universities, like Nalanda, had their name and fame spread all over the continent of Asia.

The names of persons associated with its royal founders are Sakraditya, Buddhagupta, Tathagatagupta, Baladitya, Vajra and others. The famous teachers mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang were Dhammapala, Goramati, Sthiramati, Prabhamitra, Jinamitra, Jnanachandra, Seelabhadra, and others. The renowned scholars at Nalanda as mentioned by I-Tsing were Nagarjuna (who was later raised to the status of a Bodhisatva), Deva, Asvaghosa, Vasubandhu, Dingnaga, Kamalasila and others. The foreign scholars who visited Nalanda were Hiuen-Tsiang, I-Tsing, Hiuen Chin (who got the title of Prakasamati), Taon Hi, Sreedeva, Aryavarman, the great Korean monk On Kong, and others.

Nalanda had the biggest library in India. It was situated at Dharmaganj (Piety-mart). It consisted of 3 grand buildings called Ratnadadhi, Ratnasagara, and Ratnaranjaka. In Ratnodadhi, which was nine-storied, there were the sacred scripts called Prajnaparamita Sutra and various Tantrik works. The curricula consisted of the Great

Vehicle (Mahayana), the works belonging to 18 schools of Buddhism, the Vedas, Logic (Hetuvidya), Grammar (Sabdavidya), Arts (Silpa), Medicine (Chikitsa Vidya), Philosophy (Adhyatma Vidya), works on Tantra, and such miscellaneous works as Jataka, Bhartrihari Shastra, etc.

According to the statement of Hiuen-Tsiang, "The priests at Nalanda were men of the highest ability and talent with great distinction, with their conduct pure and unblameable. They followed in sincerity the precepts of the moral law. From morning till night they were engaged in discussions—the old and the young mutually helping one another. Those who could not discuss questions out of the Tripitaka were little esteemed. Learned men from different countries desiring to acquire quick renown came to enter this University in multitudes. But the keeper of the gate would ask hard questions—many being unable to answer them would have to retire. Seventy or eighty per cent of such would-be residents of Nalanda failed to pass the admission test."

Students from all parts of the world came to this place. Persons usurped the name of Nalanda to receive honour in consequence. The names of famous scholars would be written in white on lofty gates. The teaching here was both professorial and tutorial. The monks and students were occupied in copying manuscripts, which were preserved in the libraries. The library study is always more useful than mere lecturing or teaching in the sense of giving continuous narration and filling or stuffing the minds of students with a huge fund of information.

Next we may say something about Vikramasila. Vikramasila was situated at Sultanaganj in Bhagalpur. It was founded by Dhammapala in the 9th Century A.D. Under his royal auspices 108 Professors taught various subjects here. For about 4 centuries, there was successful work under his royal patronage, by a board of 6 members presided over by the high priest.

Dhammapala endowed it with rich grants, fixing regular allowances for the maintenance of priests and students. There were establishments for temporary residents. A central hall was there, called the "House of Science," having 6 gates which opened on its colleges. There was also a large open space which could accommodate an assembly of 8,000 persons. It was surrounded by walls like those at Nalanda. In its front wall, to the right of the principal entrance, there was an image of Nagarjuna—once the head of the Nalanda

University. To the left, the portrait of Ateesa was hung. There was a Dharmasala at the gate outside the wall where strangers, arriving after the closing of the gate, were sheltered. Each college was under the guidance of a Dvarapandita. In Vikramasila there were 6 Dvarapanditas as compared with Nalanda where there was only one. No one could enter here also without first defeating these Dvarapanditas with controversial debates. Perhaps, each college specialised in a particular subject with its Dvarapandita as a principal official. The names of the Dvarapanditas were Prajnakarmamati, Ratnakarasanti, Vageesvarakeerti Naropanta, Ratnavajra and Jnanasreemitra. The courses of study were perhaps less comprehensive at Vikramasila than at Nalanda. The most important branch of learning taught here was the Tantras. Next to Tantras, there were studied Grammar, Metaphysics and Logic.

Next let us pass on to Odantapuri. Gopala, the first of the Pala dynasty, founded a great monastery at Odantapuri, the ancient name of a modern town of Behar. This was in a flourishing condition during the reign of King Surabaladeva of Pala dynasty.

The monastery of Sreedhanyakataka was on the bank of the Krishna, near Amaravoti in Berar. It was a seat of both Brahmanical and Buddhist learning. It was famous for its learning at the time of Nagarjuna, an alchemist. This Nagarjuna was, of course, different from the above-mentioned Nagarjuna of Nalanda.

Now, in conclusion, we might assert that the ideal of a truly modern University was fully realised in these ancient seats of learning. What, after all, should be the ideal of a University? It should not merely be an examining centre but a teaching body. If we consult the aim, curricula, organisation, method of teaching and discipline in these centres of learning, we are surprised to find all the principles of modern education embodied here.

The aim was nothing but enlightenment—self-knowledge and knowledge of the universe (Buddhatva). Hence the curricula in these places were also very wide, embracing in its scope Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Religion and the like, though Medicine and Grammar were most emphasised. The method of teaching was oral—by eliciting questions and answers. The most interesting item was their occasional debates and discussions as mentioned before.

With regard to organisation, I must finish by saying that the residential system is a very striking feature in these Universities. We always admire this ideal of Oxford and Cambridge Universities. But this was a striking feature of our ancient Indian Universities.

Last but not least comes the question of discipline and punishment. I should at the very outset state what 'discipline' in the modern sense connotes. The traditional teacher has hitherto demanded a *type of discipline* which he has so long maintained by virtue of his rod. He could not tolerate the sight of brisk and *free* children working and moving about in their perfect naturalness, which all the new methods of education are seeking to produce.

Discipline must come through liberty which has for its essential mark 'activity.' *Freedom first, freedom second and freedom last*—this is the watch-word of modern discipline or the discipline of *emancipation*. This freedom, however, is not to be taken to mean absolute licence, but it involves, on the contrary, some sort of creative work on the part of the pupil. The old conception of discipline was negative—it was rather a coercion to 'immobility.' But real discipline does not aim at reducing children to 'immobility' or mute silence in the class-room, or as Madame Montessori says, treating children like "rows of butterflies transfixed with a pin." Such children are not actually disciplined but annihilated. An individual is disciplined only when he is a master of himself and can, therefore, regulate his own conduct, and not merely when he has been rendered as artificially silent as a dumb person and as immobile as a paralytic.

Discipline in the positive sense of the term, is the result of the gradual building up of the habits of self-control and self-direction, and this will be accepted by the pupil and carried out not because it is imposed from above but because of his recognition of its necessity and value. It is a growth from within. There should be no external restraint, no fixed routine-work or absolute rigidity as in our traditional class-teaching. There is not even a fixed time-table in the school. Children will work according to their own rate, will progress according to their own speed and engage themselves according to their sweet will. And this discipline to which the child habituates himself here is, in its character, not only limited to school-environment but extends to society at large. This type of discipline existed in the ancient Buddhist system of education. There was nothing of

harshness or rigidity here. Perfect freedom and mutual reverence could also be seen there. The teacher and the taught were bound in relation akin to that existing between the father and son. We find also in Manu Samhita passages giving the ideas of the true discipline. One extract runs thus:—

“ The good of creatures should be effected with kind sympathetic means ; desiring virtue, one shall use sweet gentle words under the circumstances.”

According to Yajnavalkya Samhita, “ A preceptor should admonish his pupil without beating him or inflicting any kind of corporal punishment on him. In case of emergency, of course, he may be chastised with a cut piece of rope or with bamboo-twig without leaves. A king shall punish a preceptor for chastising his pupil in any other way.” Manu was in favour of punishment but of a mild type: “ A wife, son, servant, brother, or disciple found guilty of an offence should be punished with a cord or with a foliated bamboo stick. They shall be beaten only on the lower parts of the body and never on the upper limbs.” In modern education, the teacher does not hold an authoritarian position frequently interfering with the students. His position is just like that of an elder brother—a companion, a guide and a director. In fact in many modern systems of education the very name ‘ teacher ’ has vanished. The Montessori teachers are called Directresses ; in the Kindergarten system of Froebel, the instructors are called Benevolent Superintendents. The teacher is just like a President in a republic having a veto power but he will not exert that too often but keep it reserved only for times of emergency. As Dr. Nunn remarks, “ the teacher’s part in short, in all matters, is that of a perpetual President in the Little Republic where the onus of school government is thrown upon the governed.” This is the warm and genial attitude of the teacher to the pupil in New Teaching, and fortunately in Buddhist Education this ideal of true discipline was not lost sight of.

In Buddhist Education, the ceremonies of admission into the academic institutions deserve our special attention. We can have an insight into the ideal of self-discipline fostered here. When the student was going to be initiated for the first time, he had to take several vows, saying some prayers. The ceremony was of two kinds. One called Pabbajja was the first act of admission. After this

admission the candidate became a novice. The other ceremony for full admission was called the Upasampada.

No one could receive the Pabbajja ordination till he was eight years of age, nor the Upasampada ordination till he was twenty. Respect for superiors was required from the novice, and the chapter, consisting of ten monks, might impose penances for offences, and could even expel a Bhikshu from the Order in case of a serious offence.

The usual mode of subsistence was for the monks to beg food from house to house. All monks took part in the work of begging but 'the manual labour' in connection with the Vihara was performed by the novices; and the senior members of the community were expected to devote themselves to meditation and to trances, and to learning thoroughly the doctrines of the faith and spreading them abroad in the whole world.

Every Samanera (or Novice) was required to choose a Bhikshu who was a full member of the order as his preceptor (or Upajjhaya or Acharya). A pupil was called Saddhiviharika.

The Upajjhaya ought to consider the pupil as a son and the pupil ought to consider the Upajjhaya as a father. Thus these two were united by mutual reverence and confidence.

Every student was to be neat and clean, free from disease and debt: he ought not to have been in royal service and he would have to take vows saying—

Buddham Saranam Gacchami
Dhammam Saranam Gacchami
Sangham Saranam Gacchami.

Here the word *Sangha* is very significant. This term indicates that they formed a strong society where each member was tied to the other by a bond of unity, friendliness and fellow-feeling. And all this shows that the members of this group were in heart and soul students or disciples in the real sense of the term. The word *Sisya* (disciple), as we know, comes from the root 'Sas' which means 'to govern' (*Sas-Kyap*). Hence the implication of the term *Sisya* is nothing but self-government, self-discipline and self-control, which were noticed in these disciples. As Tennyson has put it:

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control—
These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

As a whole, then, we might designate the Buddhist Education as monastic in character, and this follows as a result of Buddha's own life and character and his teachings. But yet we can never call it purely ascetic, for Buddha was strongly against any bodily mortification. This system of education may, therefore, be called a perfect and ideal system which could possibly be conceived of in those grim days of Indian antiquity.

.

CHARACTERISATION IN BANKIM- CHANDRA'S NOVELS

AMIYAKUMAR SEN, M.A.

Department of English, Calcutta University

I

THE story interest is immensely old. After hunting when the caveman returned home he squatted near the camp-fire and listened with wide-eyed wonder to the legends of his tribe. The Saxon Court had its Scôp, the Norman, its Minstrel. The tale that Ulysses told has its counterpart in every age and every clime. It is, therefore, only natural that the backbone of the modern novel should be a story—a narrative of events in their time-sequence.

There is, however, something else in life besides time, something which is measured by intensity and value. The novelist, indeed, cannot ignore the thread of history, he has to cling to it ; else he becomes absolutely unintelligible. Yet a novel cannot leave any deep impression on the mind of its readers unless and until it expresses something besides the mere story ; it must include the life by value as well. Characters appeal to our intelligence and imagination and not merely to our curiosity. They make a novel really significant. With them a new emphasis enters into the novelist's voice—an emphasis on value.

Characterisation in Bankimchandra's novels has an added interest. Bankim was not a mere artist nor was he a mere moralist. He wanted to tell a story effectively ; otherwise he could not have been the great novelist he undoubtedly is. But he had also a higher purpose in view. In and through his stories he wanted to create a world of imagination which would not only give aesthetic satisfaction to his readers but lift them above the common sordid atmosphere of everyday life. He sought, sometimes indirectly and sometimes directly, to instil into the mind of his readers the highest moral truths and ideals. This he could do only by a close interaction between character and incident. Environment and personality react one on the other and out of their mutual interaction a world gradually gathers

shape before our very eyes—a world in which Bankim seeks to “justify the ways of God to men,” to illustrate in his own way the inscrutable yet just workings of human destiny.

His plots are, consequently, very often utilised for the purpose of building up central characters. They are simply woven round one or more human personalities. They are the background against which the characters are developed, mere patterns of incidents out of which human beings of flesh and blood seem to grow in distinctness and individuality. Very often the hero dominates the entire scene; he brooks no rival to his throne. All incidents, all other characters must be subordinated to him. They are of significance only when they contribute to the evolution of his personality. Such a hero is Sitaram—that man of sturdy independence and indomitable will whose unrestrained and immoderate love brings about his degeneration and downfall.

Such another is Kapalkundala, the Miranda of Bankim's creation. The ocean thundering against its shore, the last glimmer of sunset on its waters; the homely personality of Adhikari, the Kapalik with his terrible potency for evil; the wit and culture of Matibibi and the domesticity of Shyama; the quiet midnight and the symbolic dream of a harassed mind—they are all artistically utilised to create and develop Kapalkundala, that fairy child of nature partially transformed by contact with humanity, who reverts to type when confronting the spiritual crisis of her life.

In a poverty-stricken home is born a spirited damsel. She keenly resents neglect by her husband and his family. Forsaken by all and left alone in the gloomy forest, she comes into contact with a philosophical brigand and becomes Debi Chaudhurani, the courageous leader of a band of philanthropic robbers. The various incidents of the novel, her expulsion from her husband's family, the sudden death of her mother, her abduction, her fateful meetings with her husband, her conflicts with the minions of law and order—they are all artistically utilised to bring out the different facets of her complete personality. Her attendants act as mere foils to set off the grandeur of her heroic nature and the sweetness of her womanly character.

In *Indira*, similarly, through the varied incidents of its plot, Bankim presents before our imagination the picture of a full-blooded young maiden, crushed and at the same time strengthened by adversity, who, by one supreme act of bold adventure, attains the

greatest happiness of her life. With great art the novelist introduces minor characters who simply help to reveal the inner history of a woman's heart.

With similar deft touches of art the character of Rajani gradually develops through the incidents of the story. Every character and every situation is carefully utilised by the novelist to create the pathetic figure of the blind girl who, passing through all the experiences of love, gratitude and tragic self-sacrifice, at long last reaches the haven of repose in her husband's affection.

And then there floats into our vision the tragic figure of Nagendra-nath, a man of culture, whose lack of self-control releases stupendous forces of destiny which well-nigh crush him; and of Gobindalal, that youth of healthy normality who gradually degenerates through his infatuation for mere physical beauty.

In several novels, again, Bankim creates a pair of central characters. The experiences through which they pass, their clash with environment, their conflict with other characters form the stuff of which his novels are made. Such are Jibananda, the man of sturdy independence and delicate moral sensibilities who does not flinch, in the least, from sacrificing himself at the altar of duty; and his equally exalted companion Santi, strong in the strength of life's experience yet instinct with the joy of life and the spirit of adventure, who acts as the inspiring angel of her husband in all the spiritual crises of his life.

Through the entire world of *Mrinalini*, the outstanding personality of Hemchandra stands prominently before the imagination of the reader. But this patriot Prince has for his counterpart the equally important figure of Mrinalini whose constancy in love triumphs over slanders, calumnies and other vicissitudes of life. Unlike Jibananda and Santi whose characters are perfectly attuned, one to the other, the personalities of Hemchandra and Mrinalini have an added charm about them. The strength of the prince and the clinging tenderness of his beloved, the impulsiveness of the one and the calm resignation of the other—they are all blended together into a beautiful pattern developed and enriched by the incidents and subordinate characters of the novel.

A similar effect of harmonious blending in which the hero and the heroine form perfect complements of one another is discernible in *Durgeshnandini*. The generous man of action, easily swayed by

passions and suspicions, has here for his counterpart an innocent damsel who knows little or nothing beyond the narrow circle of Garh Mandaran.

In Pratap and Saibalini this differentiation reaches the height of contrast. The noble-minded Pratap, so full of sympathy and consideration for others, who exercises self-control even to the extent of self-immolation, is sharply contrasted with Saibalini, the impulsive and adventurous maiden, who, rendered desperate by the non-fulfilment of her early love, can plunge into adventures without any the slightest consideration for the proprieties of life. Such a contrast makes the characters themselves distinct, life-like, three-dimensional.

In historical or quasi-historical novels the artist has to draw his pattern of life on a larger canvas. He cannot confine himself to one or two central characters. He must give us the picture of an age—a panoramic view of people and places crowded with life, intense, vivid and inexhaustibly stirring. Such is “A Tale of Two Cities” where the surging life of revolutionary Paris gives significance and value to the story of a single family. Scott may, indeed, centre his historical tale round a hero, but his hero very soon recedes into the background and the historical movement itself comes into prominence. In fact novelists who seek to depict an age instead of particular individuals must use an entirely different artistic technique. A few figures may hold the main thread of the story and represent its course but it is necessary even for their typical truth that their attachment to the general drama of life should be felt and understood. The effect of a wide world must be given—a world opening away to the far distance round the action of the centre. Beyond the few that are to the fore, there must stretch a receding crowd with many faces in full light and many more that swell the impression of swarming life.

Although we cannot say that Bankim uses this technique in its perfection, yet in several of his novels like *Chandrasekhar*, *Rajsinha*, and *Mrinalini* he gives us the impression rather of a panorama of life than of individual characters in action. Hemchandra and Mrinalini are indeed prominent figures but they are almost submerged in the crowd of historical and quasi-historical figures like Bakhtiyar, Pasupati, Manorama, Madhabacharyya. Chandrasekhar in *Chandrasekhar* plays a subordinate part; Pratap and Saibalini hold the scene for some length of time. Soon, however, the canvas is overcrowded with historical personages—Mir Kasim, the statesmanlike ruler of Bengal,

his treacherous attendants and loving wife, Lawrence Foster and other factors of the East India Company, adventurers and conspirators like Gurgan Khan, Jagat Sett and others. They all live and move in the pages of the novel.

In both these novels certain central figures emerge out of the crowd and the plot contributes very considerably to the building up of their characters and fortunes. In *Rajsinha*, however, the hero is not an individual but an entire generation. Rajsinha the Patriot-Prince of Mewar, Chanchalkumari its symbol of womanly love and womanly pride, Zeb-un-nisa the Mughal princess wading through a life of dissipation and luxury to spiritual regeneration, Mubarak the chivalrous general torn between contending passions, Aurangzeb the super-diplomat who shakes his own throne by his short-sighted policy—which of these shall we regard as the central figure? Is it not rather the age which the artist seeks to create in his story? *Rajsinha* is, in fact, a many-centred novel which gains in massiveness what it loses in artistic unity. For its artistic effect it owes more to unity of impression based on a historical picture of the age than to anything else.

The choice of characters in a novel depends on many artistic considerations. Contrast of personalities often reveals the inner nature of human character far better than anything else. The virtues and vices of men are painted all the more vividly if they are contrasted one against the other. White shines most brightly against the background of black. Othello becomes all the more real when there is an Iago to set him off. Bhabananda, the lofty man of action, falling an easy prey to the charms of Kalyani, brings out clearly the self-restraint of Jibananda and Santi and invests with a peculiar strength and significance their meticulous sense of duty. Pasupati, the statesman, degenerating by his ambition into a traitor, acts as a foil to the steady, unhesitating patriotism of Hemchandra.

In order to create an atmosphere of verisimilitude round the incidents of *Indira* it was necessary to build up the character of a husband, sensual in nature, who might, if occasion arose, snap his fingers at the proprieties of life for the sake of gratifying his passions; and the result is Upendra who does not scruple to carry on a *liaison* with a maid-servant. The sensual nature of this man is rendered all the more convincing by an implied contrast with the constancy and affection of Ramendra. In *Dalani*, again, the faithfulness of an affectionate wife sacrificing with a smile even her life for the sake of love sets off

by contrast the errant Saibalini who yearns for the fulfilment of her early love and, rendered desperate by failure, finds no peace. Sundari, the orthodox Hindu wife with her traditional ideals of womanhood, similarly brings into clear relief the peculiar psychology of Saibalini's troubled mind. Chandrasekhar, that scholar absolutely indifferent to all worldly concerns, is an admirable foil to the man of action, Pratap, struggling against his own divided self and gaining repose in death. Zeb-un-nisa, the proud inmate of the Mughal Harem, refusing to obey the salutary traditions of her own religion, has to pay a heavy price; and, passing through the bitterest experiences of her life, attains spiritual regeneration. This transformation from an epicure to a woman becomes all the more significant as it is sharply defined against the background of the passionate personality of Daria, Mubarak's wedded wife, who sacrifices everything for her husband and loses her reason with the loss of her love. Sharply contrasted against Bhramar—the faithful wife buoyant and joyous in the possession of her husband's love—stands Robini, that type of sensual womanhood who falls an easy prey to temptation and desire.

In several of his novels, again, Bankim introduces characters who, by their different temperaments and different outlooks on life, render one another vivid and life-like. No contrast is implied in such characterisation. During the earliest stages in the development of Prafulla's character Sagar and Nayanbau are brought into the closest contact with her. They meet together and talk among themselves and there gradually grow up before our imagination three definite personalities—the ever-smiling and sympathetic Sagar bubbling with life, the jealous and haughty Nayanbau, and lastly the dignified and self-possessed Prafulla. The character of each one of them is realised all the more distinctly by this close association among themselves.

The same method of realising, clearly and distinctly, the personalities of different types of character by close association among them we can discern in the next triad—Kamalmani, Suryyamukhi and Kunda. They are all affectionate wives. But the buoyant wit of Kamalmani, the selfless devotion of Suryyamukhi (with just a touch of womanly *hauteur*) and the innocent all-absorbing passion of Kunda—all blend together into a symphony of love which invests the story with a new significance. In *Sitaram*, again, the plot is enriched by the characters of Nanda, Rama and Sree. Each has a distinct personality of her own—Rama the devoted wife, Nanda the trembling anxious girl,

and Sree the true self-reliant companion. Yet their different temperaments and natures are artistically brought out by coming into close contact, one with the other.

In the second part of *Debi Chaudhurani* there is a similar triad. But here the novelist has an entirely different purpose in view. He is now obsessed by his theory of self-discipline. He wants to create a character who will answer his ideal of strength made perfect in weakness, of a *sannyasini* and a woman too. To distinguish such an ideal character from common womanhood he creates *Nisha* (a symbol of the night of spiritual inertia ?) the plain normal woman untroubled by any ideal. Sharply contrasted against her stands *Diba* (representing the resplendent light of spiritual illumination ?) the devoted soul who, after passing through the bitterest experiences of her life, has consecrated herself to her God. Neither of these types, however, satisfies the artist, the one is too earthly and the other too spiritual for "human nature's daily food." Midway between them both stands *Debi Chaudhurani*. She so far transcends normal womanhood as to imbibe the spirit of disinterested service to humanity. But the woman in her she has not been able to suppress. It breaks out, time and again, and triumphs at last over her stoicism. Here, however, the purpose of the novelist is too glaringly manifest to be artistic ; for true art is unobtrusive and indirect.

Much less obtrusive is the implied differentiation between the three characters of *Mrinalini*, *Girijaya* and *Manorama*. The inner romantic nature of *Mrinalini* becomes more distinct and convincing when set off against the normal commonsense point of view of her companion *Girijaya*, and her essential womanliness is vividly realised against the background of *Manorama*, that enigmatic personality—half won an and half child. The two contrasting characters of *Girijaya* and *Manorama* serve the artistic purpose of bringing into relief *Mrinalini*'s complex nature in which romance and reality are harmoniously blended together.

Kapalkundala is transplanted to human society. She can no longer remain the unsophisticated creature that she was before. Her nature must react against her changed environment. This mental reaction in her has been very artistically brought out by Bankim in course of a conversation between herself and her sister-in-law *Shyama*, the normal Hindu wife. Set off against the normal commonsense point of view represented in *Shyama*, *Kapalkundala*'s peculiar outlook on life gains an added significance. The gradual

development of Mati Bibi from a sophisticated, refined lady of the Imperial court to a devoted, affectionate woman sacrificing all future prospects for love is described vividly and accurately in order that the part she plays in the development of action might be invested with an atmosphere of probability and verisimilitude. Yet there is a subtle and implied contrast between the artificial courtier turned woman and the innocent child of nature transformed into a social human being—a contrast which cannot escape the notice of discerning readers.

A similar technique of bringing out the essential characteristics of different persons not by contrast but by differentiation can also be observed in several pairs of characters in Bankimchandra's novels. There is, in such cases, no attempt to set off one personality against the other, yet their divergent temperaments, natures or outlooks on life serve to bring out their inner selves more clearly and with greater realism than would have been possible if they had not been brought so close together. The faithfulness of Kalyani, her bashfulness and strength, her absolute isolation from the outside world—they make it easier for us to appreciate Santi. Nurtured as she is in an atmosphere of freedom, Santi, coming into contact with the sordid world of everyday life, struggles hard against its temptations. Her bitter experiences, however, only make her stronger and more resourceful. They instil into her a stronger faith in Providence and a deeper attachment to the highest ideals of morality which mark her out from common womanhood. Her resourcefulness and strength, the way in which she boldly confronts the world of reality—are they not rendered more striking and life-like when compared with the shy and bashful figure of Kalyani? Both are typical wives of Bengal, faithful unto death and strong in the strength of the spirit, but their characters have been moulded differently because of the different environment in the midst of which each grew up.

Both Amarnath and Sachindra are lovers; but the disinterested self-sacrifice of Amarnath sets off very distinctly the all-absorbing passion of Sachindra. Osman and Jagatsinha are equally chivalrous and equally honourable. But the Pathan in Osman and the Rajput in Jagatsinha are fully realised when they come into closer contact. The passion of the Pathan throws into bolder relief the patient courage of the Rajput. These pairs of characters have, all of them, the same fundamental characteristics as the basis of their personality but the differences introduced render them more complex and

more real. It is that differentiations among characters of the same type that individualise them. The harmonious blending of the typical with the individual, which one can discern in them, makes these pairs of cognate characters, men and women of flesh and blood, creatures of this world of reality and not mere phantoms of a poet's imagination.

There are, however, other characters which have no such basic similarity. Nor do they shine by contrast. On the contrary, they seem to represent in themselves men and women of the world of actual experience, ever varied in their character and temperament, illuminating one another by light caught from the different facets of their own selves. The witty, cheerful Subhasini, bubbling with laughter and mischief yet full of the milk of human-kindness, flits across the scene in *Indira*, yet it is her influence which strengthens Indira in the darkest days of her life and gives her hope and courage. The mature womanhood of Lalitalavangalata, her humour and intellectual alertness, her shrewdness and womanly anxiety for her step-son—in short, the complexities of her nature—bring out all the more distinctly the childlike innocence of the coy, bashful maiden, Rajani. But we do not feel that any contrast is implied in their case. In all these instances of characterisation, the novelist, by the introduction and development of such loosely associated personalities, seems to invest his novels with a universality of appeal which, otherwise, it could not have possessed. We seem to be moving in a world which, inspite of all its imaginative idealisations, is still too near our own world of experience to be brushed aside as the creation, unsubstantial and unreal, of an artist's fancy.

Characteristic action is the stuff of which both dramas and novels are made. A close relationship between character and action has been universally recognised as one of the most fundamental principles of literary art. The conflict between personality and environment or their mutual interaction invests the most insignificant plot with a significance and value of its own. The plot of a drama or of a novel gives us true aesthetic satisfaction only when it issues out of the characteristic action of its protagonists vividly realised as human beings of flesh and blood. There is indeed a class of novels in which the action is everything and characters are merely pawns to build up the plot. We might admire the ingenuity of the plot-structure in such novels but they do not have about them the breath of life which is absolutely necessary for their proper appreciation. They have no significance as imaginative interpretations of life.

In Bankim's novels the emphasis is not so much on ingenuity of construction as on consistent characterisation. Yet he introduces many characters for the purpose of developing the story-element rather than for illuminating, by contrast or comparison, the different aspects of the human personality. Such characters are, however, not mere pawns in the game of story-telling. They have, on the contrary, personalities more or less fully developed. By participating in the action of the novels they render the plot less mechanical and more real. Gangaram in *Sitaram* is a character of this type. His importance lies solely in the contribution that he makes to the development of action. The first crisis in *Sitaram's* life centres round him. He is responsible for the exile of *Sitaram* and the gradual building up of his new kingdom. The complication of the plot is more or less due to his machinations against Rama. His irresistible passion for the queen of *Sitaram* and the questionable activities which issue out of it are the basis on which the novelist builds up one of the most moving scenes in the novel—the vindication of Rama. It is mainly through his instrumentality that Sree meets *Sitaram*—a meeting which is fraught with far-reaching consequences for both these central figures; and in the last scene when *Sitaram*, fallen and vanquished, cuts his way through the mighty hosts of the Muhammadan Sultan it is he who is discovered in the ranks of the enemy.

In the background of the Sannyasi Organisation looms large the outstanding personality of Satyananda. He is the guiding spirit of the whole movement. He it is who formulates and spreads the cult of nationalism among the common people. Through him it gathers strength and solidarity. His admonitions and warnings, his inspiring presence invest it with a stability, both intellectual and moral. In the crises of their lives Jibananda and Bhabananda are guided by him. Yet we never feel him to be the hero. He is never the centre of the real interest. On the contrary, even such an outstanding personality is subordinated to the central figures of the novel. He might be the motive force of action—a fully developed personality indeed, but one who is significant only because of his contributions to the development of its plot and the character of its chief protagonists.

Abhiram Swami is the guardian angel of the hapless family of Birendrasinha. It is through his influence that Birendra rejects the offer of Katlu Khan, with the result that his fortress is captured

and his family ruined. His benign presence strengthens Bimala in the midst of dire distress and it is he who in the end reunites the loving pair.

The Kapalik is the instrument of fate that ruins Kapalkundala. His grim presence in the first scene of the novel creates the atmosphere and prepares the ground for the appearance of Kapalkundala. When Kapalkundala becomes Mrinmayee he significantly recedes into the background. He appears and the shadow of impending doom settles on the entire scene. Thenceforward he moves with terrible significance creating everywhere an atmosphere of tragic suspense. He spreads his toils and entraps Nabakumar. He works upon his suspicious mind and brings about the final catastrophe.

Foster, similarly, is the evil genius of Saibalini. He complicates the situation by carrying her off and thus creating an insuperable barrier between the unfortunate girl and normal Hindu society—a barrier which renders her all the more desperate and reckless of consequences. He does, indeed, bring about her downfall, yet it is through him that her character is vindicated. This factor of the East India Company flits across the scene as an instrument of human destiny contributing to the development of action and forming a link in the different episodes of the plot.

In *Bishabriksha* Debendra and Hira act the same part as Foster. Debendra is responsible for the misfortunes of Kunda and her flight from the house of her protector ; Hira contributes to the catastrophe by bringing about Kunda's suicide. Bit by bit, by deft touches of art, the novelist develops their character. They gather shape before our very eyes ; and this gradual growth of their personalities is absolutely necessary to account for the part they play in the story. But Bankimchandra does not stop with the suicide of Kunda which is the true catastrophe of the novel. Without any artistic necessity whatsoever he proceeds to illustrate in the life of both Debendra and Hira the moral adage that the wages of sin is death. The moral interest of the tale has plainly carried him off his feet. He is too strong a moralist, too much obsessed with the idea of poetic justice, to let slip such an opportunity of "justifying the ways of God to men."

No such inartistic over-elaboration marks the character of Brajeswar in *Debi Chaudhurani*. He comes and goes in strict conformity to the requirements of art. He plays a very prominent part in the development of Prafulla's character. He it is who

prevents her from becoming a *sannyasini* which she was trained to be. He, again, is mainly responsible for her renewed interest in life and return to domesticity and normal womanhood. Not only so, Brajeswar is the pivot round which the plot centres. The different crises in Debi's life are all very closely linked with him. He is the mainspring behind all the activities of that spirited leader of philanthropic robbers.

A similar artistic restraint is shown in Bankim's characterisation of Bhabani Pathak in the same novel. The temptation of giving a full-length portrait of a philosophical robber was very great in that romantic age during which Bankim flourished. *Anandamath* fully illustrates Bankim's interest in the *Sannyasi* type. In many novels, again, this type persists with great tenacity. Yet here in *Debi Chaudhurani*, though Bhabani Pathak is the creator of the philosophical bandit into which the erstwhile village girl is transformed, he never occupies the centre of the scene. He is never too prominent. On the contrary, he is consistently kept in the background though the reader always feels his presence and influence. He is made just as much real as is artistically necessary for the proper understanding of Prafulla's transformation.

Apart from occasional lapses when he is carried away by his didacticism or his interest in particular types of human character, Bankim is very careful to maintain a just proportion between characterisation and plot-construction. He develops his characters just as much as is absolutely necessary from the artistic point of view. They grow indeed but never outgrow the part they play in the novel. Besides his heroes and heroines he paints full-length portraits of those characters alone who contribute very decisively to the action of his novels; and it was necessary that he should do so. Inadequately motivated action leaves no impression on our mind. It appears too unnatural to be taken on trust. We miss that elusive atmosphere of verisimilitude which is necessary for the proper appreciation of art. But when the story-interest is definitely linked with character, it gains in depth and significance. The central characters are, however, too few to account for the entire action of a novel. It is, consequently, very often necessary to introduce subordinate characters to carry it on. Unless, however, such characters are more or less fully developed, the action itself hangs in the air. It can have no firm ground to stand upon. Bankim was fully conscious of this artistic principle. And so we find him creating an Abhiram Swami, a Kapalika or a Brajeswar.

MAORI LAND AND CULTURE

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A.(CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

NEW ZEALAND, the home of the Polynesian Maoris, is generally considered to be a recent addition to our geographical knowledge. Tasman rediscovered it in 1642 and Captain Cook placed New Zealand on the map in 1769. But it was not settled until 1839 and that is how we find this year arrangements for the celebration of its first Centenary, on which I felicitate my friends of New Zealand.

Thanks to the recent progress in the science of Anthropology, we are now pretty sure that the Maori people discovered the islands long before Tasman. When Captain Cook arrived, there were about 100,000 Maoris out of which 30,000 in the South Island dwindled to 3,000 only according to recent statistics. The Maori population reached its lowest ebb 39,854 in 1896 and the extinction of the race was predicted. But suddenly the Maoris showed signs of revival ; their number increased to a little over 82,000 although 50 per cent. is reported to be half-caste. The Maori slowly regained self-confidence and self-respect under the effective guidance of their noble leaders like Sir Maui Pomara, a minister of the Crown, Sir James Carroll, once Prime Minister of the Dominion, Sir Apirana Ngata, M.P., poet, scholar and statesman and Dr. Peter H. Buck, anthropologist and Director of Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Dr. Buck whose Maori name is Te Rangi Hiroa has given the most authoritative account on the migrations of the Polynesians right up to New Zealand (*vide Ancient Hawaiian Civilization*, pp. 19-30). He showed how the Polynesians, an offshoot of the Caucasian race, worked eastwards from the south of the Himalayas and reached the islands of the Malaya Archipelago known collectively as Indonesia. There they came in contact with the Mongoloid ancestors of the Malays, intermixed with them, developed the knowledge of ocean-craft provided with a single outrigger canoe and became a sea-faring people. About the beginning of the Christian era they entered into the heart of the Pacific Ocean according to the researches of Abraham Fornander of Hawaii and Percy Smith of New Zealand. Two routes were open to them: The Northern or Micronesian route extended from the Philippines through Micronesia to Hawaii in the North Pacific

(circa 450 A.D). The Southern or Melanesian route extended from Indonesia, along the north coast of New Guinea to Fiji and thence to the Polynesian group of islands like Samoa and Tonga and Tahiti where they probably found earlier settlers called Manahune with Melanesian characteristics. Seligman also is of opinion that some of the islands that are now Polynesian were inhabited by primitive black population and therefore we find today much variability among the different groups of Oceania : " In the East the skin is light, the hair wavy or straight ; in the West there is a considerable number of dark-skinned people with almost frizzly hair."

About 950 A.D., according to the Maori geneologies, the audacious Polynesian pioneer Kupe sailed from the Tahiti zone and discovered the " Land of the High Mists " or *Aotearoa*, later called New Zealand. From the 11th to the 14th century we find Maori traditions recounting the stories of long voyages from Central Polynesia in organised expeditions under their chiefs or *Arii* accompanied by " learned priests as navigators." These chieftains and priests or medicine-men are called *ariki*s and *tohungas*. Between the years 1150 and 1350 many voyaging canoes came to New Zealand from *Hawaiki* and return voyages were also made. About 1150 the celebrated Maori ancestor Toi sailed down to the " Land of the High Mists " in search of his grandson Whatonga who had been blown out to sea and who was rediscovered. 1350 is usually regarded as the date when immigration ceased and the Maori island was cut off from the " sacred tide to *Hawaiki*." About a century after, but before the discovery of America by Columbus, sweet potato (the original home of which is Central or South America) was brought into Polynesia and therefore Prof. Dixon of Harvard supported the theory that some Polynesians whom we already find in their farthest eastern colony, the Easter Islands, may have discovered South America and returned with the sweet potato. It is indeed a glorious achievement and the Maoris perpetuated, in narrative speech and song, the memory of their crossing and recrossing of the Great Ocean of Kiwa or the Pacific. This great achievement was due to their canoe and therefore canoe is the auspicious symbol as well as the common welcome to the various Maori tribes visiting one another while they sing :

Toia mai, te wake!

Draw hither, the canoe!

Kumea mai, te wake!

Haul hither, the canoe!

• Ki te urunga, te wake!

To its pillow, the canoe!



Maori Masks



Maori wooden Icon

Ki te moenga, te wake!	To its bed, the canoe
Ki te takotoranga i takoto	To the resting place where
ai te wake.	shall rest the canoe.
Haere mai, haere mai.	Welcome, twice welcome!

Dr. Harvard E. Gregory, formerly, the Director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, also furnished us with important details regarding Polynesian migrations. Long before European navigators had ventured far from land, the Polynesians were sailing back and forth among the dots of land in the Pacific making voyages thousands of miles in length. The Polynesian outposts in the Carolines and at the Easter Island are nearly 9,000 miles apart and 3,800 miles of water lie between Hawaii and New Zealand. Four early trips were made from Hawaii to Tahiti, 2,400 miles apart. Uenga, a twelfth century sea-rover, sailed from Samoa to Tongareva, thence to Tubuai and through the Tuamutus to Tahiti, covering about 4,000 miles mostly against the trade-winds. Tukuio, sailing from Rapa, discovered Rapa-nui or Easter Island after a voyage of 2,500 miles with no intervening places of stopping. Karika, a Samoan chief, discovered and colonised Rarotonga (*vide* E. Best, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 36, 1928) and the 13 voyages of Tangiia cover a distance of more than 18,000 miles. These apparently unbelievable records have been accepted as true by a group of experts who devoted their lives to the elucidation of the Polynesian problems. Led by Percy Smith, Col. Gudgeon, Edward Tregear and Elsdon Best laid the foundation of the Polynesian Society in 1892. In a famous work, *Hawaiki*, Percy Smith tried to show that the Polynesians reached the Fiji, Tonga and Samoa by 5th Century A.D. He traced the ancestors of the Polynesians from India by way of Java, Celebes, New Guinea, etc., into Polynesia proper, east of the Fiji group. In his paper "The Geographical Knowledge of the Polynesians," Percy Smith observes: "We are too apt to forget that in former times they had a class of canoe, *Pahi*, capable of containing a large number of people and abundant provisions It was in canoes such as these that the Maoris made the long voyage from the Pacific Islands to New Zealand The Maori traditions make special mention of these double canoes (*vide* E. Best, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 32, 1924) and further state that one, the Arawa, had three masts." Strengthening this thesis of Percy Smith his loyal collaborator Elsdon Best wrote a valuable paper on "Polynesian Voyagers" (*Dominion Museum Monograph*, No. 5,

Wellington, 1923). He characterises the Polynesians as "probably the most fearless neolithic navigator (*vide* E. Best, "The Neolithic Maori," *Journal of Science and Technology*, Wellington, 1923) the world has seen." He refers also to the Maori tradition saying that their ancestors, in times long past away, migrated from a hot country named Irihia (*cf.* *Vrihia*, an ancient name for India) and crossed the Ocean in an easterly direction." In another paper "The Origin of the Maori" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 32, 1924), Elsdon Best gives a most interesting inventory of the various theories connecting the Polynesians and the Maoris with India. J. R. Logan, the renowned ethnologist, opined that "the Polynesians are a branch of the ancient Gangetic race of India." Two other valuable papers on this subject was published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*—on "Asiatic Gods in the Pacific" by E. Tregear and on "Asiatic and Polynesian Points of Contact" by Percy Smith. Elsdon Best studied the Maori lore for over half a century and his papers and publications ranged over 40 years from 1890 to 1931 when he died, as I gathered from his friend and colleague Mr. Johannes C. Andersen, another authority on Maori music, myths and legends.

The mind of the Maori, quite apart from his material culture, is also a problem to many anthropologists. He is reputed to carry almost down to the 19th century some sort of neolithic culture but he demonstrated a mind nurtured in poetry and mysticism. Discussing the spiritual concepts of the Maori, Elsdon Best (*vide Dominion Museum Monograph*, No. 6, 1923) made the following significant observations:—

"The superior gods of the Maori are personified forms of natural phenomena; his mythology and religion teem with such personifications, and with mythopoetic allegories; no people known to us have excelled the Polynesians in evolving such quaint concepts. Observes the charming myth of Tane and the Dawn Maid; the story of the Mist Maid and Uenuku (the Rainbow); the concepts of the Wind Children, the Cloud Children, and the Children of Light. Peruse the myth of the grey old Earth Mother calling to her stricken offspring to return to her and find rest: she who refused to remember their rebellion in the days when the world was young; she said, 'I brought them forth to the World of Light, in death shall they find rest with me. Though they have erred and rebelled against me, yet are they still my children. Mine be the care of the dead.' And the Maori

will tell you that this saying of the primal Mother was the first evidence of the mother's love that outlives all races and all creeds, as exemplified in a terse aphorism of yore: *He aroha whaereere, he potiki piripoho* (A mother's love a breast-clinging child)."

While discussing the legends of "Maui—A Demigod" of Polynesia, Dr. W. D. Westervelt of Honolulu observed that "several hints of Hindu connection are found in the Maui legends." The New Zealanders claim Maui as an ancestor of their most ancient tribes and sometimes class him among the most ancient of their gods, calling him "creator of land," "creator of man," "the solar-fire." In his foreword to Dr. Westervelt's volume, Percy Smith very significantly refers to Maui's successful efforts to lengthen the day-light and observes: "It may be suggested that if the Polynesians are, as some of us suppose, Proto-Aryans who, in very ancient times, led the advance guard of the Aryan migration from—let us say, with Oppert—the shores of the Baltic, to south-eastern Asia; then the legends of Maui's deeds in lengthening the days would, in a measure, be accounted for." (cf. Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*.)

The Maori showed a remarkable genius for personification and thus very appropriately his mind is characterised as "mythopoetic." Maori chants and other varieties of oral literature are remarkable and no less remarkable are his contributions in the domain of arts and crafts which we now proceed to describe.

MAORI ARTS AND CRAFTS

As early as 1898, Elsdon Best communicated his "Notes on the Clothing of the Ancient Maori" in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* (Vol. 31). Thirty years after he quoted some Maori traditions with regard to the training of the young man in arts and crafts (*Dominion Museum Bulletin*, No. 13, 1929) which we quote below:—

"Now when the lad was fairly grown, then the task of teaching him the use of weapons and tools commenced . . . Then the lad was taught the construction of houses, huts, cooking shades, store-houses... Also was he taught the use of tools in agriculture . . . the art of dressing timber with stone adzes. The use of stone chisels and drill were also taught, also the arts of wood carving and of painting designs." (E. Best, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, September, 1928.) The handiworks of this highly gifted race were unfortunately scattered in different parts of the world and only recently careful inventories are

being made, thanks to the earnest researches of the members of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, and of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. We draw the attention of the public in this connection to the richly illustrated catalogue of "The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts" (*Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 14, 1938).

Some important facts relating to the arts and crafts of New Zealand as compared with those of Polynesia and Micronesia are given by Mr. Ralph Linton of the Field Museum of Chicago (*vide Ethnology of Polynesia and Micronesia*, Chicago, 1926). He points out that there were two distinct types of Maori art in New Zealand. The natives of the South Island used simple angular designs in their carvings. All the Maoris employed angular designs on their baskets, textiles and feather robes. "The natives of the North Island employed only curvilinear designs in their carving and painting. The most important single element was the spiral, but highly conventionalised human figures, faces and animal forms were much used in carving. Many of the scroll designs painted on rafters were said to be derived from plant forms but were so highly conventionalised as to be unrecognisable."

Like other Polynesians the Maoris made some use of human figures carved in the round which were set up in sacred places as representations of gods or ancestors. But most of the Maori figure carvings were in high relief on slabs. A small grotesque human figure called *heitiki*, carved from jade or whale bone, was the most favourite Maori ornament worn around the neck on a cord. Their finest ornaments and implements were made from nephrite, a variety of jade of rich green colour and, according to Linton, the desire for this special material was one of the main motives in the migration to New Zealand from Central Polynesia where the Maori jade objects were taken by the first native explorers.

While the ordinary dwellings of the Maori were small and crudely built, the Maori Council houses were the most beautiful structures in the Pacific. Linton describes in detail a structure that was acquired by the Field Museum of Chicago with a ridge pole hewn from a single log, 60 ft. long and weighing over a ton and a half "The posts, panels, projecting end of the ridge-pole and the front of the house were carved with highly conventionalised human figures representing ancestors or mythological beings. After carving they were coloured red with



Dance of Maori females



Dance of Maori males

a mixture of ochre and oil. The rafters and underside of the ridge pole were painted with scroll designs in red, black and white. The reed-panels of the walls were worked into designs. The finished house was the pride of the village and so potent were the spells recited at its erection that even if the village was taken by an enemy, its Council house would be allowed to stand unplundered until it fell to pieces."

Just a century ago the fight between the Maoris and the British was terminated by the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) and a body of scientists and social workers organised the New Zealand Institute. It published in 1868 the first volume of its *Transactions and Proceedings*. Devoted mainly to Natural History, the *Transactions* publish now and then articles on Maori culture like Maori origins, food products, marriage customs, games and amusements, forest lore, etc.

In 1892 was founded the Polynesian Society with the Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii as one of the patrons. Naturally the members of the Society tried to supply the proper perspective of Maori culture by bringing in the larger problems of Polynesia and of the vast Pacific Basin culture. Elsdon Best, for example, wrote an article in the first number of the *Journal* (15th April, 1892), on the *Races of the Philippines*, and another writer tried to equate the culture of the Maoris and that of the Incas of Peru. So E. Tregear described the stone images (3 ft. to 35 ft. high) of the Easter Island which was discovered in 1722 and where one supposed that a peculiar script was evolved which could be connected with the prehistoric scripts of western Asia.

With Tregear appeared, as joint-founders of the Society, Elsdon Best (whose writings we have quoted before) and S. Percy Smith and they often went beyond New Zealand to seek the clues to Polynesian origins, *e.g.*, equating the *Uru* of the Maoris with *Ur* of Chaldea. Percy Smith's paper on "The Aryan Predecessors of the Maoris" (1919) still deserves careful perusal. The Polynesian Society was soon strengthened by another remarkable scholar Mr. Johannes C. Andersen who is poet, musician and anthropologist all in one. He was joint-editor of the *Journal*, with Elsdon Best, and for years Librarian of the Turnbull Library, Wellington. He published his *Maori Life in Aotearoa* (1907), the *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians* and the richly documented *Maori Music*, the last published amongst the *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society* in which series we also find "The Maori" and "Tuhoe" by E. Best and the "Evolution of Maori Clothing," a masterly monograph contributed by Dr. Peter H.

Buck, the renowned Maori anthropologist, now the Director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I gathered from Dr. Buck that valuable relics of Maori art and culture are scattered amongst the various missionary collections of France and Italy, of Germany and England. The museums of Vienna and Cambridge, the British Museum and the Royal College of Surgeons, London, have got to be ransacked by a student of Maori lore and he must not forget that there are private collections also like those of Von Hügel, Oldman and Giglioli.

The new generation of Maori scholars like Ngata, Pomare and Buck were inspired by the work of the white anthropologists and started researches and publications of their own. As a result of this happy collaboration was established the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, with special funds to foster original investigation and provide for printing and publication. It is due to the activities of this generation of noble workers that we see to-day a veritable revival of Maori spirit and culture in every sphere of life.

Another important institution is the Alexander Turnbull Library of Wellington which offers the greatest facilities for the study of Polynesian problems and original records of New Zealand history.

The capital city of Wellington is naturally proud of its Dominion Museum with its remarkable collection of Maori arts and crafts which were kindly shown to me by Mr. W. J. Phillipps. He contributed a valuable paper on "Maori Carving" (*Art in New Zealand*, June, 1938) in which he explains the fundamental elements in Maori designs and refers to the late Mr. Harold Hamilton, the Director of Maori Arts and Crafts, Rotorua, as an authority on the subject. The Dominion Museum also publishes a valuable series of *Monographs*, e.g., *Polynesian Voyages*, the *Maori School of Learning*, *Maori Myth and Religion*. Among the *Bulletins* of the Museum we find, among others, the following studies of Elsdon Best: *The Stone Implements of the Maori*; *The Maori Canoe*; *Maori Agriculture*; *Maori Religion and Mythology*. Dr. Peter Buck's valuable researches are being published, far away from New Zealand, by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum of Honolulu, famous throughout the world for its patronage of Pacific research, through which some day, we hope, Polynesia and India would be brought closer to one another.

The Maori arts and crafts of the South Island are to be found in the Museum of Christchurch and more fully in the Otago Museum of Dunedin. The culture of the Maoris of the South Island has been specially studied by Mr. H. D. Skinner of Dunedin University

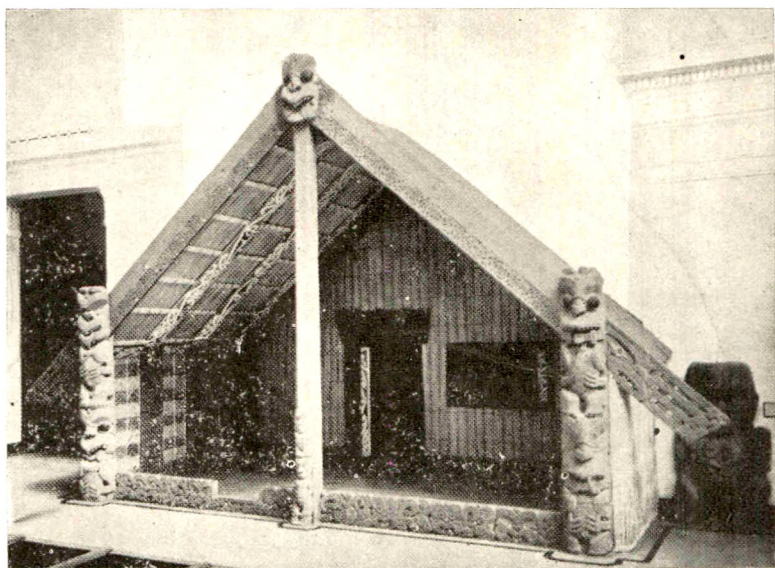
which is the only University in New Zealand to provide for systematic lectures on anthropology. Mr. Skinner has a rare collection of Maori artifacts and he contributed many valuable papers in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (1921, pp. 71-78 ; 1924, pp. 229-43). As early as 1923 he published his study on *The Morioris of Chatham Islands* in the Bishop Museum Memoirs, Vol. 9. In Dunedin there is a large collection of Maori tools, ornaments, canoes and wood-carvings in the Otago Museum under the expert care of Prof. Skinner.

Coming from Dunedin in the extreme south to Auckland in the extreme north, every visitor of New Zealand will be impressed by the rich and scientifically classified collection of the Auckland War Memorial Museum with Gilbert Archey as Director. Thanks to the kind introduction of my esteemed friend Mr. J. C. Andersen, I was warmly received by Mr. Archey who devoted a considerable part of his valuable time in explaining to me the various exhibits and their historical and artistic significance. New Zealand should be proud of such an imposing edifice, one of the best museum buildings that I saw on the Pacific Basin. Mr. Archey recently prepared a valuable paper for the Auckland Meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (January, 1937). I found his observations so interesting that I conclude this article on "Maori Art and Culture" by drawing largely from his valuable notes as well as from his excellent hand-book of *Maori and Oceanic Ethnology* which he kindly presented to me. Mr. Archey refers to the widely prevailing theory that the art of the South Island, more *rectilinear* and simpler, was closely connected with the art of Eastern Polynesia. The art of the North Island, on the contrary, is predominantly *curvilinear* with double spirals and "bird-headed men" akin to the spirals and bird designs of Solomon Island, New Guinea, and Borneo where the Negroid race and Melanesian culture predominated. Skinner, however, pointed out several complications arising out of the above theory. He considered it unlikely although not quite impossible that the conquering Polynesians would take the art of the Melanesian people whom they subdued in the North Island. Moreover, *curvilinear* patterns are not exclusive to New Zealand for they are found in the Marquesas and also in the Easter Island where we find a "non-patternised art of naturalistic human figures and animals." Skinner, therefore, ~~opined~~ that a *curvilinear* art derived from New Guinea and the neighbouring islands was basic in Eastern Polynesia and that some *rectilinear* fashion had transmuted it

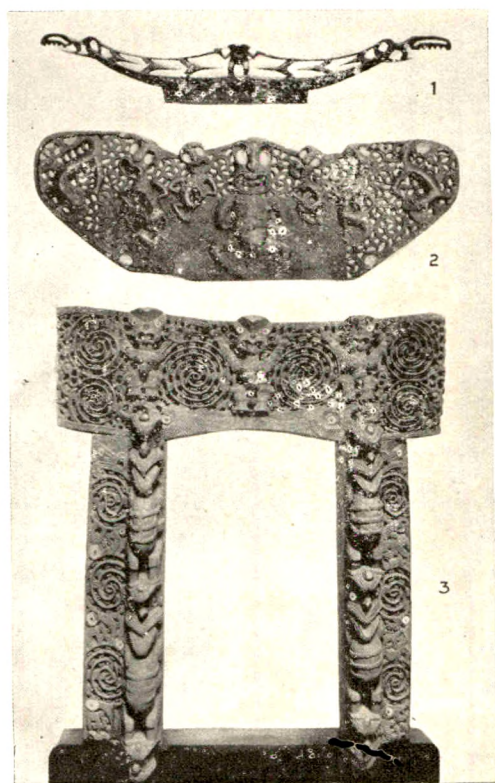
in the Tahiti-Rarotonga-Austral region. But recent researches have, according to Mr. Archey, simplified the problems by proving that the ancient culture of New Zealand was distinctly Eastern Polynesian and that, inasmuch as there is a certain Negroid element in the Polynesian race, one need not postulate a separate Melanesian migration to explain the Negroid strain in the Maori. Arts that appear to be superficially similar may have developed quite independently and we need not strain after relating such widely separated decorative arts. Among the basic elements of Maori carving we find a human figure with the face in profile, the "bird-headed man" or *manaia* and out of the interlocking mouths of these there developed the double-spiral. This succession of human figures with alternate full face and profile is paralleled in Rarotonga. So the early Maori neck pendants are decorated with a succession of angularly stylized human limbs foreshadowing the conventionalization of the human figure in the *rectilinear* art of Eastern Polynesia.

Thus human figure, as against *geometrical* patterns, played an important rôle in Maori art and their large houses contain wall-posts carved with representations of some ancestors or hero-gods with whom they were connected by their "genealogical symbolism." They excelled also in their stone-tool industry, thanks to their many-toned jade found in the west coast of the South Island. With their high-class tools and excellent timber the Maoris naturally evolved a rich tradition of wood-carving. So in their weapons, utensils and ornaments in wood or stone, bone or shell, we always notice, as Mr. Archey observes, "A touch of decoration, so appropriately applied as to lead one to expect rather than to be surprised at the high standard attained in formal decorative art."

Among the animal motifs we find grotesque figures—half-man, half-animal—and various types of lizards in Maori carving (*vide* Elsdon Best, *Journal of Science and Technology*, Wellington, 1923). But however grotesque may appear the human figures, they were representations of their ancestors, generally in wood, sometimes in crude stone as in the island of Tahiti. Mr. Archey refers to the prevalence of human figures both in wood and stone in the Marquesas Islands. But it was in Easter Island that Polynesian sculptures, attained their most majestic proportions. In that Island good timber was extremely rare while there was an abundance of soft stone which was freely used and by spirit of competition amongst sculptors and chiefs, the Polynesians of the Easter Island created larger and still larger statues ranging from



Maori Council House



Maori Wood Carving

3 ft. to 35 ft. To reach that far-off Island was indeed an achievement in the history of primitive navigation. It was possible through centuries of negotiation with the Ocean by the heroic Polynesians who made a veritable cult of the Ocean and of the canoe-dance. They sang in the past, as they sang to me last year, when the hospitable Maori families of Rotorua received me with due ceremony in the home of Mr. H. Tai Mitchell, a leader of the Arawa tribes :—

Behold my paddle !
 It is laid by the canoe's side,
 —
 See ! I raise on high
 The handle of my paddle,
 The Roku-o-whiti.
 I raise it—how it flies and flashes !
 Ha ! The outward lift and the dashing,
 The quick thrust in and the backward sweep !
 The swishing, the swirling eddies,
 The boiling white wake,
 And the spray that flies from my paddle !

Piri papa te hoe
 Awahi papa te hoe !

 Hapai ake au
 I te kekan o taku hoe
 I te Roku-o-whiti
 . Whiti potato, rere potato
 Mama potato
 Te riakanga, te hapainga
 Te komotanga, te kumenga,
 Te Riponga, te awenga,
 A te puehutanga
 O te wai o taku hoe nei !

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

The Gandhi Training College

A plea that the intellectual training of the pupil-teacher should not be neglected was made by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, a former Minister of Education, Bombay Government, when opening the Gandhi Training College, under the aegis of the Poona Municipality.

Dr. Paranjpye observed that while the science of teaching had made great strides, he had a feeling that intellectual training of the pupil-teacher was to a certain extent being neglected today. He commended the teaching of Sanskrit and Algebra in the training colleges towards this end and stressed that a knowledge of Sanskrit was essential to Marathi primary school teachers as it was the mother of Marathi, as of most other Indian languages.

Dr. Paranjpye also made a strong plea for a living wage to the primary teachers and hoped that Government would soon pay their attention to meet this demand.

Indian Institute of Science

The Senate of the Indian Institute of Science at its meeting on 14th September is understood to have resolved to recommend to the Governing Council the revival of Chemical Engineering and Technology course and for that purpose asked the Council to sanction an annual grant of Rs. 15,000 and capital grant of Rs. 25,000 from the depreciation fund.

In connection with the proposal of the Madras University instituting B.Sc. degree in technology with the co-operation of Science Institute the Senate, it is learnt, recommended to the Council that the Institute might admit 6 students from Madras University for the course and the University do pay an annual grant of Rs. 10,000 for the purpose.

The Senate also approved of the scheme of the Committee of the Council appointed for modifying rules and regulations for award of scholarships. Henceforth studentships of the value of Rs. 125 will be given only to D.Sc.'s and demonstrators of colleges, senior scholarships of the value of Rs. 60 to M.Sc.'s and junior scholarships of Rs. 40 to B.Sc.'s, making the maximum tenure of scholarships 4 years.

Travancore University Labour Corps

The Travancore University has made a somewhat new departure in establishing a University Labour Corps. Through such a Corps it is hoped

to give students training not only in military drill, but also in useful manual labour, said the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Travancore University, Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, speaking at a meeting held recently at the University to inaugurate the training of prospective officers of the Corps.

The Pro-Vice-Chancellor added that the University had great hopes in regard to training students in social service, and giving them the necessary equipment for being of real use to the country, especially to rural areas of the State.

The Commandant of the Travancore State Forces, Lt.-Col. H. L. Watkins, in an address, dwelt on the value of the training proposed to be given in the University Labour Corps. He referred to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's keen support to the Benares University Training Corps and said that Pandit Malaviya had expressed his conviction that such training made the students in every way better.

Patna University

A Patna University *communiqué* says :—

It has been brought to the notice of the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University that objection has been taken by somebody, writing in a local daily, to the publication of the statement supplied by proposers, containing special qualifications of candidates for election to the Senate. It is alleged that such "advertisement" of qualifications amounts to indirect canvassing on the part of the University, and is calculated to prejudice the decision of a voter against those who, out of modesty, or for some other reason, did not get their proposers to state their qualifications.

It is hereby notified for information of the public that the statement of qualifications of candidates for Senate election is required to be submitted to the Registrar with the nomination and also to be forwarded to voters, under the Regulations of the University.

This has been done all the years whenever election to the Senate took place, and is in strict conformity with the Regulations. The allegation that it amounts to indirect canvassing on the part of the University is, therefore, wholly unwarranted, since the Registrar publishes the qualification not only of a given candidate supplied by his proposers, but also those of his rivals contesting the same seat.

Primary Education in Turkey

Whereas, according to Turkish statistics, one million and a half children should be recipients of primary education, only some seven hundred thousand actually go to primary schools. The latter, in addition, have only three classes, and it has been observed that whenever a pupil gets no more than three years' tuition he is liable in after life to forget whatever he has learned.

This is the formidable problem with which Turkish public education is confronted, despite the unquestionably remarkable progress in recent years. Every year witnesses the erection of about fifty new primary schools, but there is evidently some very great difficulty in supplying a population of 18,000,000 spread over no fewer than 40,000 towns and villages with an appropriate number of schools and teachers.

This question, however, has now been tackled with renewed energy, and, to begin with, the number of classes in a great many primary schools

will be raised to five, while measures are being devised to extend education to all children without exception.

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

At the ordinary monthly meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal held recently Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the Rt. Hon'ble the Marquis of Zetland, Prof. H. Luders and Sir Jadunath Sarkar were elected honorary Fellows. This is the highest distinction in the gift of the Society and given to men of eminence in both arts and sciences. There are altogether 18 honorary Fellows and they come from different countries of the world.

Mysore University

The University of Mysore has decided to institute a post-secondary Diploma course in Sericulture from the year 1940. At present no Diploma course in Sericulture under University auspices is given anywhere in India.

Music Diploma in Bombay

The hope that in the near future it would be possible to institute degrees in Music in the University was expressed by the Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister, Government of Bombay, addressing the fourteenth anniversary of the School of Indian Music. Mr. Kher dwelt on the need for including Music in education and referred to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's report, which stated that the study of Music and Fine Arts would open up new avenues for the educated unemployed. Till now the Provincial Government had little to do with the University but things were changing and he hoped that it would be possible to institute degrees in Music. There was now a proposal to institute a diploma for Music in the University.

Referring to the high place of Music in ancient days and the evil days through which it had passed, Mr. Kher observed that it had now been recognised that the study of the Fine Arts was a bridge which linked education and culture with discipline.

Advanced Studies in Osmania University

The Osmania University, which has been providing for a course in M.A. and M.Sc. research work under the guidance of its Board of Research for a number of years, has now taken further step in stimulating original work by instituting the degree of Ph.D. in the faculties of Arts, Science and Theology.

The course for this degree, which has begun from June 21, 1939, will extend over three years and will be open only to those candidates who have taken the Master's degree in Arts, Science and Theology at least in the second division from the Osmania University or from any other University recognised by it.

The Ph.D. degree will be awarded on the basis of thesis which will have to be approved by a Board of three Examiners, one from the Osmania

University, one from another Indian University and the third from a University outside India.

Schools to Work for 5 Days in the Week

The Madras Government have ordered that elementary schools in the province should not work for more than five days in the week. At present some schools work for five and a half or six days and Government have expressed the desire that this practice should be abandoned.

The object of the order is to provide sufficient leisure for teachers to plan their work in schools and also to undertake adequate extra-rural and social activities.

Miscellany

THE THEORY OF PROGRESS¹

One of the formulations of the cult of progress is embodied in the doctrine of the *Gita* about the *Yugantaras* or transformations of epochs. The tannouncement of Krishna in this work is to the following effect :—

“ Whensoever into Order
Corruption creeps in, Bharata,
And customs bad ascendant be,
Then myself do I embody.
For the advancement of the good
And miscreants to overthrow
And for setting up the Order
Do I appear age by age.”

This doctrine of progress postulates the advent of the Messiahs, *Yugavataras* or Gods-incarnate-in-man in order to embody the successive *Zeitgeist* (age-spirit).

The problem of progress has been one of the topics of philosophy and social science in the Western world also. But, as say Barnes and Becker in *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (Boston, 1938), Vol. I, not until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did theories of progress become a really absorbing subject of speculation. The authors have devoted a chapter to the rise of the idea of progress.

We are told that Montaigne, Bacon and Descartes began to divert attention from the ancient and medieval theology, thus making a definite start toward the idea under consideration here. Fontenelle (1657-1757) was the first to formulate a systematic theory of progress; he maintained that moderns were neither biologically superior nor inferior to the ancients, but that since progress is cumulative in science and industry, the moderns far surpass the ancients. Perrault's (1628-1703) view differed chiefly in that he considered that his age had already arrived at perfection, and consequently he had negligible interest in the future.

Vico (1668-1744), who has been credited with being among the first great writers on social theory to make systematic application of the historical method, attempted to formulate the principles which govern the development of society. His analysis was made in the form of stages and cycles; opinions differ as to whether or not these are compatible with a belief in progress. It can safely be said, however, that if he held such a belief it was simply a by-product of his analysis of intellectual and social development.

Turgot's (1727-1781) most profound contribution in this connection was his assertion of the unity and continuity of history. His views on the effects of culture contact and related matters were surprisingly in advance of his time. He also definitely anticipated Comte's conception of the three stages of intellectual progress. In a very elaborate and sanguine description of the past and prophecy of the future, Condorcet

¹ B. K. Sarkar : “ Social Metabolism in its Bearings on Progress ” (*Social Forces*, U. S. A., December, 1937).

(1742-1794) viewed each of his numerous epochs as an unequivocal advance over the preceding one, and regarded his age as the threshold leading to a consummate degree of happiness and realization of human potentialities: Godwin (1756-1836) believed that although man was capable of unlimited future progress through the influence of reason, oppressive human institutions had kept him from making progress in the past. The end of human progress was enlightened individualism, and the chief instruments were literature, education and political justice.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century the Romantic school began partially to displace the rationalist, to which most of the above-mentioned writers had belonged. The Romanticists arrived at a doctrine of political quietism, and a mystical strain colored all their thinking; on the other hand, they correctly emphasized the non-rational elements in historical development, called attention to the functional unity of culture-complexes, and expose the fallacies in the crude catastrophic theory of the rationalists.

Herder (1744-1803) was a connecting link between these two periods; he emphasized the mysterious psychic forces affecting mankind, and at the same time declared that human welfare rested solely on reason and justice. He declared that the destructive powers in nature must ultimately give way to the perfection of the whole. Kant's (1724-1804) idea of progress, which was a moral one, contained germs of social teleology. He believed the human species as a whole to be ever more closely approximating its potentialities, and considered moral progress demonstrable.

The direct antithesis of such optimistic theories was set forth by the reactionary and traditionalist writers De Bonald (1754-1840) and De Maistre (1754-1821). They both regarded the "progress" culminating in the French Revolution as a great catastrophe, and hoped for the restoration of the *ancien regime*. They exercised much influence on Saint-Simon, Comte, and like successors.

Another authoritarian emphasis was introduced by Hegel (1770-1831), who viewed the historical process itself as the gradual realization of liberty. His dialectic contributed directly to the notion of progress through the young Hegelians, but his historicism and his belief that mankind had attained perfection in his own time were basically anti-progressive.

During the early nineteenth century, sociology began to take form, and the "climate of opinion" in which it grew was primarily determined by the idea of progress. Saint-Simon (1760-1825) argued the necessity for the creation of a science of social progress, and expected applied science to usher in a golden age. Comte (1708-1857) followed him closely in all his ideas; especially the emphasis on the necessity of a scientific basis for social reconstruction. Comte's means of attaining his positivistic utopia included secular forms and social justice. Spencer (1820-1903) seems to have believed that in general cosmic evolution makes for progress: he differed from such later sociologists as Ward, Small and Hobhouse in considering social evolution a purely "natural" process which could not be furthered by lawmaking or planning.

The most recent development in the discussion of this subject is a critical analysis of the term and its implications; advances in technology are no longer being equated with human advance.¹ There is a tendency

¹ For the theories of progress as developed during the twentieth century see B. K. Sarkar: *The Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I. "The Expansion of Democracy, Socialism and Asian Freedom (1905-28)" (Madras, 1928) :—Vol. II—"The Epoch of Neo-Democracy and Neo-Socialism (1929-39)" (Lahore, in the press).

to substitute the term "social change" for "social progress" and even to develop cyclical theories of a kind that implicitly deny the possibility of progress (Spengler: *The Decline of the West*; Sorokin: *Social and Cultural Dynamics*).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

✓ THE ECONOMICS OF SAVINGS BANKS

The Savings Banks are institutions, which, without any aim of money-making, collect savings deposits even for small amounts and see to their sound investment at interest, having for their purpose the well-being of all classes of society and particularly of the less well-do-do.

Savings Banks are founded on the initiative of either associations of persons enjoying general confidence and having at heart the welfare of the people, or of public bodies, communes, unions of communes, districts, provinces, regions, or lastly, on the initiative of the Government itself. In some cases, the deposits collected by the Savings Banks founded by public bodies enjoy the guarantee of these bodies.

In view of their character, the Savings Banks have no need of capital of their own in order to be established, as they generally carry out operations of investment of the funds collected. It is necessary, however, for the Savings Banks that are being erected, to be endowed with an initial fund, which may be reimbursed, for the expenses of the foundation and of the first management expenses.

After deduction of the interest to be paid to the depositors and of the other management expenses, the profits accruing from the investment of the funds collected are wholly or partially allotted to the formation of one or more reserve funds, representing the Savings Bank's funds. When the reserves have reached a given amount in proportion to the deposits, a part of the profits are distributed in varying measure for charitable and public utility works.

The Savings Banks are governed by a board of trustees differently composed. The office of a trustee is, on principle, an honorary one. If, in some cases, compensation is made to the trustee, this is always calculated at a minimum rate, commensurate, sometimes in the form of attendance fees, with his services. It never takes the form of a share in the profits, nor is it proportionate to these.

The trustees of the Savings Banks can, therefore, not be pressed to effect hazardous operations in the hope of heavier profits and for private gain.

The management of the Savings Banks is characterised not only by the aims pursued, but also by the particular nature of the deposits collected. The deposits flowing into the Savings Banks assume the character of capital in the process of formation, which seeks, more than a high yield, the greatest possible safety and which is, therefore, comparatively stable, chiefly in view of the fact that it results from numerous deposits for small amounts. Given this typical composition of the mass of deposits, the granting of long-term loan may, within given limits, be made in correlation with the relative stability of the deposits, although investments must be distributed in such a way as to ensure the Savings Bank the necessary liquidity in addition to the safety required.

In the choice of investments, the Savings Banks endeavour, by proportioning them equitably, to return the funds collected to those classes of society from which they have come, by assisting in a particular way local agriculture, industry and trade of small and medium dimensions and taking part in every work benefiting the community, in the field of personal credit, real estate credit, agricultural credit, etc.

Side by side with the Savings Banks, there operate in some countries, both as autonomous sections of the Savings Banks and as institutions to themselves, benevolent pawn institutes and wheat loan establishments.

Such pawn institutes, not to be confused with pawn shops run for profit, are a very old institution dating back to times when in Europe the habit of saving was not yet developed and economic conditions were backward, as they are now for instance in the mass of the Indian population. They grant advances on most convenient terms without any aim of profit against the pledging of objects in gold or silver and of various articles, even the most modest, in order to meet the most urgent needs of the less-well-to-do classes, which without this intervention would be compelled by necessity to resort to usurious debts.

The wheat loan institutions, also of old origin, advance money against the pledging of grain or other imperishable agricultural produce, allowing the farmer to wait for more favourable market conditions in order to realize the pledge.

These operations of granting cheap loans against pledges not only afford the poorer classes a sometimes indispensable means of assistance which saves from the strangle-hold of the money-lenders, but also represent safe forms of investment of the monies collected by the Savings Banks, as the realization of the pledge usually covers every risk.

Savings Banks of one and the same country, region or province are generally united in associations. In some countries, the Savings Banks have at their disposal common guarantee funds, which serve to strengthen the guarantees they offer to the depositors.—International Thrift Institute (Milan).

BENGY KUMAR SARKAR

SAVINGS BANKS AND INDIA

As a manifestation of a human instinct, thrift is certainly practised in India also. As has been observed, however, it is carried on in anti-economic forms as a rule, for a good deal of the money saved is hoarded in gold and silver objects, produce and so on, and is deposited only to a slight extent in special institutions which function as intermediaries between those who have savings at their disposal and those who are in need of savings for the development of their enterprises.

The turning of the considerable masses of savings at present hoarded up into channels leading to more profitable investment takes for granted the existence of collecting institutions. The present state of banking organization in India seems not to be adequate for these purposes. The Post Office Savings Bank is reproached with directing savings towards the larger centres. The co-operative movement requires a degree of culture and material and spiritual elevation not yet reached in India:

The foundation of Savings Banks would strongly contribute to solving the problem of hoarding. In point of fact, the Savings Banks do not require

that degree of elevation demanded by the co-operatives as they are managed by persons having at heart the welfare of the public. They would moreover offer the depositors the guarantee of prudent management, free from any concern for immediate gain and cause the monies collected to flow back to benefit the same circles from which they have come, maintaining a local or regional character for the investments or for a considerable part of them. Lastly, as Savings Banks have also an educational character they would serve to dissuade the population by conscientious propaganda from the habit of hoarding.

First, the habit of saving, understood in the sense of investing savings in an economic way, would combat some practices now prevalent and contribute to raising both the material and the moral standards of the more humble classes of the population.

Secondly, it would put back into circulation substantial masses of gold and silver, which could be usefully employed for strengthening the vital forces of the country, with particular regard to the development of the more modest enterprises.

Lastly, the habit of saving would contribute directly and indirectly to solving, at least in part, the thorny problem of private debts.

The Savings Banks could conveniently join in the present banking system as special credit institutions with the specific purpose of assisting the less well-to-do classes, by fostering in them the desire to deposit and imparting to them a knowledge of the mechanism of credit.

From this work of economic enlightenment, the existing credit institutes could also derive benefit, since the Savings Banks, far from constituting for them competitors to be feared, would contribute to widening the circle of their possible customers through the propaganda of credit which the Savings Banks would be led to develop in order to attain their own ends.

Therefore, whilst the foundation of Savings Banks would not damage the institutes existing, they would be called upon to carry out functions, on behalf of the community which the latter cannot undertake, on account of the aims they pursue and the characteristics of their structure.

The problem of the establishment of Savings Banks in India thus seems ripe for solution. — International Thrift Institute (Milan).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

A Higher School Certificate Inorganic Chemistry—By E. J. Holmyard.

In Part I of the book the author has dealt with theoretical and physical Chemistry rather elaborately; in fact, this portion has been treated more fully than can be expected in a book of this size. It is a special feature of the book. In the opening chapter Mr. Holmyard has given an admirable summary of the important contributions to and of the various stages in the gradual development of the chemical science.

Part II deals with the typical elements in the various groups of the Periodic Table. This descriptive portion, however, is not as informative as one would like to see, though important technical methods have found a place. This book will prove an excellent text book for our undergraduate classes.

H. D. MUKHERJEE

History of the Bengal Subah (1740-70), Vol. I—By Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D. Pp. 507.

The history of India in the 18th century has attracted the attention of research-workers. But most of those works that have seen print relate to the political and military history of this period of decadence. Dr. Datta's book which gives us the social and economic history of the Bengal Subah is a welcome exception to this general tendency.

Dr. Datta has given us a picture of the people's life, the laws and customs of their society and their economic resources and transactions. There is also a detailed account of the East India Company's trade in the pre-Plassey period. A section on communications, one on classes and conditions of labour, one on markets and prices of articles, explain the general economic condition of the period. Every reader would appreciate the author's description of the relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. The two communities lived in harmony and mutual attachment in spite of bitter relations prevailing in court circles. The map of the inland navigation has added to the usefulness of the work.

The author has sifted a huge mass of literary and documentary records. His treatment of his subject is very exhaustive. Though this book is professedly a by-product of his workshop, it will serve the purpose of an excellent book of reference. Documentation is perhaps overfull.

N. K. SINHA

The Meaning of Religious Forms (with a chapter on "The Universal Form of Worship")—By Babu Abinash Chandra Lahiri, B.A. Published by the Author from 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Board-bound. First Edition. Pp. 4 + 106. Price As. 12, Foreign 1s. 6d.

In this small brochure the author endeavours to give a rational explanation of the forms of the different great religions of the world, viz.,

Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, Muhammadanism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, etc. He contends that these *forms*, when taken literally, may appear to be irrational, superstitious and harmful; but when interpreted in their true light, these *forms* are found to be based on the rock-foundation of deep religious truths. But, for all that, as these *forms* are only the mechanical means of expressing the high spiritual truths, the author finds himself faced with the necessity of advocating the most rational mode of *Universal Worship*, which is mainly based on the Upanishadic principles.

The endeavour of the author is indeed laudable, though his treatment has been, at places, a little scrappy. The Sanskrit quotations from the Sacred Texts literally bristle with innumerable mistakes, all of which cannot reasonably be passed over as mere misprints. We hope to find a thorough improvement in the next edition. The book can be strongly recommended to the students of Comparative Religion for preliminary study.

“*Priyadarśi*”

The Gītā: A Critique—By Prof. P. Narasimham, M.A., L.T. Published from The Huxley Press, Madras. Copies can be had at Lalita Vilas Book Depot, Triplicane, Madras. First Edition, 1939. Cloth-bound. Pp. v+270. Price Rs. 2-8 (or 5 sh.).

In this small work, we find a literal translation of the verses of the Gītā with explanatory notes added where necessary. The author has not given the translation of the first chapter and the first ten verses of the second chapter, but has only added a brief outline of the contents thereof. The rest of the work has been fully rendered into English. The reason for this omission of the introductory portion is clearly pointed out in the ‘Foreword’ of the book by the author himself. The author maintains that the entire Gītā does not form an integral part of the Great Epic, but is a wholesale interpolation. Not content with this, the learned author further proceeds to condemn the absence of any critical outlook on the part of the ancient commentators. Says he: “That Saṅkara and other Āchārya commentators on the Vedānta took for granted the reality and authority of the Gītā and commented on it, as though it contained the very words of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, to suit their own metaphysical and theistic systems, need not be regarded as giving the stamp of authenticity to the Gītā episode in the Mahābhārata. . . . Historical criticism was foreign to their purpose and outlook.”

In reply we have only to point out that the learned author cannot claim any originality even with regard to the formulation of these wild theories which had already been promulgated by more than one European scholar and thoroughly criticized by the late Lokamānya Bāl Gangādhār Tilak, Śrī Aurobindo, Sir S. Rādhākṛṣṇan and others. Since the author makes the dogmatic assertions unsupported by any arguments, we refrain from entering into an elaborate discussion on these topics.

The author further asserts that “the value of the Gītā is not much in its relation to a historical fact; its abiding worth is in the exposition of the highly developed views of the Hindu mind on the great problems of human life which have determined the cultural tone of our civilization for thousands of years. . . . to examine them from a commonsense point of view is the only object of this study.” The so-called commonsense point of view adopted by the author, bears no stamp of originality, but is obviously influenced by the views of the modern European thinkers. This will be

evident from the fact that the learned author interprets the expression 'Brahma nirvāṇa' as the state of being 'ever active for more and more of expression or manifestation.'

Thus, according to him, the *Gītā* seeks to establish the doctrine that constant progressive evolution—and *not* the final cessation of individuality—is the ultimate goal of human existence. We need not comment on the point at all; since the original text itself is too clear to admit of such tortuous interpretations.

The English translation portion, however, reflects much credit on the learned author. The rendering is plain, literal and forceful. In most places the explanatory notes also are free from all philosophical technicalities and sectarian bias. And for this reason the book may have a large circulation among those readers who want to possess a general knowledge of the ancient classical texts without being encumbered with the abstruse details.

The printing and get-up of the volume are good. We hope the author will add either a table of contents or an index to his work in his next edition.

"Priyadarśī"

The Defeat of War—By Kenneth Ingram. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939. Price 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. Kenneth Ingram carefully discusses the international situation, particularly in the light of the aggressive spirit which Germany has lately demonstrated to the world in annexing Austria and Czechoslovakia. The ambition of Germany is not appeased by this territorial expansion and the peace of the world is being seriously menaced by the way the Fascist powers are consolidating themselves. The League of Nations which was the crystallisation of a desire to maintain the peace of the world after the Great War has been wrecked by the rise of three major powers bent on territorial expansion and the failure of the League to meet their challenge to its police authority. England did nothing to check a Fascist victory in Spain out of a determination not to allow Russia to gain ascendancy in that country. The same attitude was again discernible in the policy of Mr. Chamberlain when the liberty of Czechoslovakia was threatened by Germany. He did not clearly intend to enter into any sort of alliance with Socialist Russia although Russia was a party to Czech integrity. To quote Mr. Ingram: "Great Britain and France moved right; they abandoned the League, in effect aligning themselves with the two Fascist powers."

Mr. Ingram does not support the policy of Mr. Chamberlain when an attempt is made by him to gain time to re-arm Great Britain. The Fascist powers will not remain idle while Great Britain thus adds to her strength. But he does not despair that war can not be avoided because some countries of the world are anxious to compete with Britain as an Imperial power. "War is not an act of God: it is a human invention. Why should we condemn ourselves to endure what we do not want to endure?"

Mr. Ingram makes a survey of the Pacifist movement for which support can also be found in the teaching of Christ, and observes that the law of love proclaimed by Christ "does not in the least prove that it is the duty of the Christian to attempt to apply this maxim absolutely at the present moment." Again he writes: "Christ was not a dictator. He laid on the

shoulder; of his followers the supremely difficult task of discovering for themselves how to relate His principles to a world of time and imperfection."

Mr. Ingram criticises a number of Pacifist ideas and shows that their practical application is attended by serious difficulties. He maintains that Pacifism is not now practicable as policy in the British or in the international field. But its emergence as a movement proves that there is a growing consciousness that war must be abolished if mankind is to make any progress along the path of civilisation. This consciousness is indispensable to the success of Pacifism.

Mr. Ingram makes his attitude clear in the following sentences: "War is, in my view, a corollary of an economy which rests upon competition and therefore creates nationalism. I see no way in which Pacifism can be achieved but through a Socialist economy and the spread of international principles. These are the per requisites (pre-requisites ?) of the peace-order. You do not achieve a peace-order by Pacifism."

The solution he offers is that Great Britain should immediately invite a world-conference, accompanying this invitation with a declaration that under certain conditions it is prepared to place the whole of its colonial possessions under international mandate. She must also announce her intention to give dominion status to India at the earliest possible opportunity. War is inevitable as long as there are rival empires in the world. The step suggested by Mr. Ingram is one that should attract the notice of leaders who are in a position to give effect to this very carefully prepared programme. Mr. Ingram is evidently a man of conviction and he knows the art of communicating his conviction to others. His book is thought-provoking and contains one of the most lucid expositions of the international situation besides an examination of Pacifist ideas to which reference has been made above. There seems to be a serious orthographical mistake at p. 88 where "perquisites of a peace-order" should be changed to "pre-requisites of a peace-order" to make sense.

Recent events have, however, changed the international situation and have made Mr. Ingram's position untenable in a certain measure.

S. C. S.

Conquest of Sorrow—By Swami Sachchidanand. Published by K. L. Basu, 43, Badan Roy Lane, Beliaghata, Calcutta. Price 10 as.

The Swami has offered a rather inadequate definition of sorrow in declaring it to be "an emotional state of mind arising out of loss, actual or supposed, of some object of affection." This view is advanced immediately after his comment "Sorrow is universally felt but little understood!" Our author has forgotten that the sorrow which led to Gautama's renunciation does not come under any of his categories.

He discusses fundamental questions like the nature of the soul, the change involved in death, and whether sorrow is an unmixed evil. He makes frequent quotations from Sanskrit texts, some of which are no doubt interesting. He would have added to the attraction of his discourse if he had included in it some of the teaching of the Buddha. The Four Noble Truths tell us practically all there is to know on the subject of Sorrow and the absence of even a bare reference to them seems, therefore, a serious omission. The book appears, however, to have been written from the orthodox Hindu point of view.

According to the writer's view a Guru alone can lead a man out of the troubled waters of life to some peaceful haven. The whole problem thus resolves itself into a quest for a Guru. There follows an account of what the Guru can do. It seems he has infinite powers to bring solace to his disciple. The discourse concludes with a number of practical hints.

Dr. Srikumar Banerjee has contributed a preface to the book under review. Its readers must be warned that the title "Conquest of Sorrow" is apt to raise false expectations. It is thoroughly orthodox in spirit and contains the ideas which a Sanskrit scholar brought up in the old tradition is likely to discuss whenever an opportunity presents itself for launching into a philosophical dissertation.

Those interested in Sanskrit philosophy and Hindu ideas generally will find the booklet a welcome addition to the existing literature on the subject. The author seems to be a good Sanskrit scholar with an ability to systematise the knowledge he has acquired in the course of a discursive reading over many years.

S. C. S.

Ourselfes

[I. *Our New Assistant Registrar.*—II. *Asutosh Prize in Zoology and Botany for 1938.*—III. *Golden Jubilee of the Kwansie Gakuin University (Japan).*—IV. *Indian Historical Records Commission.*—V. *University of the Philippines.*—VI. *Donation Received from All-India Soap-Makers' Association.*—VII. *Third Meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.*—VIII. *Proposal for a Diploma course in Tanning.*—IX. *Election of Fellows of the University.*—X. *Award of Scholarships by Department of Agriculture, Bengal.*—XI. *Sister Universities and Facilities for the Study of Bengali.*—XII. *Sibley Scholarships for, 1938.*—XIII. *Sir S. Radhakrishnan.*]

I. OUR NEW ASSISTANT REGISTRAR

Mr. Sudhindrakrishna Dutt, M.A. (Oxon.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, has been appointed Assistant Registrar of our University. Mr. Dutt, who has a brilliant record as a student of history has been associated with the University for some years as a teacher in the Post-Graduate Department. He was Secretary to the Calcutta Bar Council in the Calcutta High Court.

We offer our congratulations to Mr. Dutt on his new appointment.

* * *

II. ASUTOSH PRIZE IN ZOOLOGY AND BOTANY FOR 1938

The award of the above prize has been made in favour of Mr. Suryyakanta Das, M.Sc., whose thesis "On Embryology of the backbone of Amphibia and Mammalia" submitted in this connexion was examined by a Board consisting of Prof. H. K. Mookerjee, Rai Bahadur Dr. S. L. Hora and Dr. N. Srinivasa Rao.

* * *

III. GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE KWANSIE GAKUIN UNIVERSITY (Japan)

Our University has conveyed its good wishes to the President of the Kwansie Gakuin University, Japan, on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee which will be celebrated from the 14th October to the 18th October this year. The nucleus of the University was a school founded by the Canadian Methodist Mission some fifty years ago where Theology was the principal subject taught although facilities existed also for the study of Literature and Commerce. This institution was transformed into a University in 1929 under the name of

Kwansie Gakuin University with provision for the teaching of Literature, Economics, Law, Medicine and Theology.

* * *

IV. INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

The next session of the Indian Historical Records Commission is expected to be held in Calcutta on the 13th and the 14th December, 1939. Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri has been appointed our representative to serve as a co-opted member on the Historical Records Commission.

* * *

V. UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Our University has conveyed its good wishes to the authorities of the University of the Philippines on the occasion of the investiture ceremony of Bienvenido M. Gonyelez, sc.d., as the sixth President of the University to be held on the 19th October, 1939.

* * *

VI. DONATION RECEIVED FROM ALL-INDIA SOAP-MAKERS' ASSOCIATION

Mr. Amalkumar Raychaudhuri has been awarded a scholarship of Rs. 30 a month out of the sum of Rs. 400 placed at the disposal of the University by the All-India Soap-Makers' Association. Mr. Raychaudhuri who will work under Dr. M. N. Goswami will undertake research with a view to discovering how to prevent sweating of soap. The subject which has been specially selected at the request of the donors will require further financial aid from them for its proper investigation.

* * *

VII. THIRD MEETING OF THE CROPS AND SOILS WING OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The Third Meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry will be held in New Delhi from the 6th to the 10th December, 1939. It is understood that Prof. Jnanendranath Mukherjee and Prof. S. P. Agharkar will attend the meeting.

* * *

VIII. PROPOSAL FOR A DIPLOMA COURSE IN TANNING

The Superintendent of the Bengal Tanning Institute wrote to the University in April last year under the advice of the Director of Industries, Bengal, proposing that the Institute might be affiliated to the University and that a Diploma might be awarded to the students completing a course of study in Tanning at the Institute. Professor B. C. Guha who was requested to give his opinion as regards the standard of instruction in the subject at the Bengal Tanning Institute declared it to be satisfactory. A syllabus of studies as well as rules bearing on the proposed Certificate in Tanning have been prepared with the co-operation of the Superintendent of the Bengal Tanning Institute. The University has not, however, given its sanction to the scheme and has referred the matter to a joint meeting of the Board of Studies in Chemistry and the Board of Higher Studies in the subject.

* * *

IX. ELECTION OF FELLOWS OF THE UNIVERSITY

The University has fixed the following dates for the election of Fellows by the Registered Graduates, the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Law. The dates will be formally announced when their approval is signified by His Excellency the Chancellor to whom they have been forwarded.

The University has suggested Tuesday, the 9th January, 1940, for the holding of Election by the Faculties of Law and Medicine and Saturday, the 13th January, 1940, by the Registered Graduates. The Registered Graduates will be called upon to fill two vacancies and the Faculties of Law and Medicine, one each.

* * *

X. AWARD OF SCHOLARSHIPS BY DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
BENGAL

The Department of Agriculture, Bengal, has announced two Scholarships, each of the value of Rs. 50 a month and tenable for two years, to suitable candidates, one of whom would be required to study Mycology and the other Entomology at the Imperial Research Institute as part of the Post-Graduate course taught there. The University

which was approached by the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, with the request that candidates with the requisite qualifications may be recommended by it has suggested that the award in Mycology may be made to Mr. Jagadischandra Saha and that in Entomology to Mr. Himangshulal Sarkar, M.Sc.

XI. SISTER UNIVERSITIES AND FACILITIES FOR THE STUDY OF BENGALI

Our University has recently addressed a letter to the Indian Universities and the Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education to the effect that in view of the importance of the Bengali language arrangements may be made by them so that Bengali students and others desiring to study Bengali may have necessary facilities to do so at schools and colleges under them. It has been pointed out in the letter that Bengali is studied at the Calcutta University up to the M.A. standard and that there is also an Honours course in that language for candidates preparing for the B.A. examination. Besides this, the University offers students from outside Bengal every opportunity to keep up the study of their provincial languages as part of the course for the different examinations conducted by our University.

The request has been made in the letter that the policy of the University may be reciprocated and that arrangements may be made by Universities and Educational Boards to include Bengali as an optional subject for the examinations that are held by them.

XII. SIBLEY SCHOLARSHIPS FOR 1938

The Sibley Scholarships in Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering for 1938 have been awarded to the following persons :--

Civil	... Pranabkumar Chattopadhyay, from 10th August, 1939.
Mechanical	... Nirmalchandra Datta, from 3rd November, 1938.
Electrical	... Sureschandra Bandyopadhyay, from 16th November, 1938, to 15th May, 1939.

XIII. SIR S RADHAKRISHNAN

We take this opportunity of congratulating Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan on his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, in place of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who has so long occupied this exalted office. Sir Sarvapalli has been the recipient of the highest honours in the academic world. From a philosophic scholar's secluded nook he was brought out to administer the affairs of the Andhra University, and this he did with considerable success. He has now been appointed at Benares for three years for the present and we hope that he will equally prove his worth there.

NOTIFICATION

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS

Simla, the 5th September, 1939

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The Government of India have been informed by the High Commissioner for India, London, that he is taking all possible steps to advise and assist Indian students, both men and women, at present at United Kingdom. Many universities and colleges in evacuation areas are making arrangements to continue their courses in safer districts and students are advised to continue their studies as far as possible and in accordance with any instructions issued by their university or college authorities. Exactly the same facilities are being afforded to Indian as to home students. The High Commissioner is doing his best to secure as many passages as possible for those students who wish to return home and a register of their names is being recorded. Students still in India who intended to proceed to the United Kingdom should now not sail.

Sd. G. S. Bozman,
Secretary.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

NOTICE

The subject of the Dr. Bhagavan Das's Prize for the year 1939-40 is—

"HINDU CONCEPTION OF DHARM."

The Dr. Bhagavan Das's prize of the value of Rs. 30 will be awarded to the student who presents the best essay in English or Hindi on "Hindu Conception of Dharm." The essay must bear a suitable motto and must be sent the Registrar in a sealed and registered cover on or before the 31st of January, 1940, with a declaration that it is *bona-fide* the competitor's own composition. No part of the essay should contain the name of the competitor.

The prize will not be awarded unless the judges pronounce the essay worthy of it.

BENARES,
The 3rd of August, 1939.

G. P. MEHTA, M.A.
Registrar.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—



The Late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen

Born—Nov. 3, 1866

Died—Nov. 20, 1939



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1939

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION.

SIR P. C. RAY

I

INTRODUCTORY

AFTER an interval of more than half a century (strictly speaking, 54 years), I have resumed the study of my favourite subject—Shakespeare, and that for the present in one aspect only—the enigma which presents itself in every phase of his life and writings and shrouds him in impenetrable mist. Browning, in his well-known lines, very aptly puts in a nutshell the difficulty which the immortal poet presents at every step of his writings:

“ Here’s my work : does work discover
What was rest from work—my life ?
Did I live man’s hater, lover ?
Leave the world at peace, at strife ?

Blank of such a record, truly,
Here’s the work I hand, this scroll,
Yours to take or leave : as duty
Mine remains the unproffered soul.”¹

¹ Browning—*At the Mermaid*.

Asquith also acknowledges the same difficulty but in a different way :

“ The most splendid genius of his own or any other time has left behind him hardly a single undisputed trace of his own personality. There has not been preserved so much as a single line in his own handwriting of any of his poems or plays. We do not know that the greatest teacher of antiquity wrote a single line. Shakespeare, who died less than three hundred years ago, must have written well over hundred-thousand. And yet, thanks to Plato and Xenophon, we have a far more definite and varied acquaintance with the man Socrates than we shall ever have with the man Shakespeare.” ¹

Munroe, who has made a careful and detailed study of the bard of Avon, very pithily remarks on the paucity of contemporary interest in Shakespeare :

“ The still silence in which this greatest of Englishman came into the world is equalled only by the silence in which he left it again. It is particularly important to remember that of all the poets who had sung the praises of Shakespeare and of all those who had plagiarised his works, not one was moved by his death, which must have been known before long in London, to make any immediate expression of loss or sorrow.” ²

Eminent authorities such as Dowden, Halliwell-Phillips, Boas, Lee and others bear such testimony to the almost insoluble problem presented by Shakespeare and speak of him as *elusive*, *evasive* or *baffling*. In fact, every Shakespearean scholar whenever he fancies he has discovered something material and relevant to the life or writings of the poet finds himself at last groping in the dark. Steevens who made a life-long study of the immortal poet is at last constrained to admit that “ All that is known, with any degree of certainty concerning Shakespeare, is that he was born at Stratford-on-Avon, married and had three children there, went to London, where he commenced as an actor and wrote plays, returned to Stratford, made his will, died and was buried.”

The literature on Shakespeare has already grown to gigantic proportions. In the shelves of the Shakespeare Memorial Library of Birmingham alone there were some 21,000 volumes (on the 31st March, 1930) ; and in the British Museum catalogue the Shakes-

¹ *Occasional Addresses*—Asquith.

² *Shakespeare Allusion Book*—Introduction by Munroe.

pearean entries alone comprise 3,680 titles. Add to it the books and manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, and in the archives of many noble families of England (*e.g.*, Hatfield) and of late years in the libraries of American millionaires, *e.g.*, Pierpont Morgan.

We thus get an idea of the colossal and stupendous mass of work done on Shakespeare. Then again, on *Hamlet* alone in Germany, there is already a vast and bewildering literature. Other continental countries, namely France, Denmark, Holland, Poland, Sweden, etc., have also contributed their quota.

When the present writer entered on his self-imposed task he actually feared that in a place like Calcutta the available literature on Shakespeare would naturally be very meagre; but on ransacking the shelves in the libraries of the Calcutta University, the Presidency College and the Imperial Library, he was agreeably surprised to find that most (though not all) of the standard works are to be met with, as would appear from the numerous references in these articles. It has further been a source of satisfaction and encouragement to him that exactly 60 years ago (1879) Malone's edition of Shakespeare, brought out by Boswell (Jr.) in 1821, was reprinted in Calcutta by H. C. Mullick, showing evidently the popularity of Shakespeare in Bengal. He well remembers, when he was just a college student, John Bright (in 1877 or 1878), in introducing Mr. Lalmohan Ghosh before an English audience, remarked that there were as many students of Shakespeare and Milton on the banks of the Ganges as on the banks of the Thames.

At one time it was almost taken for granted that all that has to be said of Shakespeare has been exhausted; but since the beginning of the present century the literature on Shakespeare has been growing anew and apace. Many scholars, notably Israel Gollancz, Raleigh, Greg, Quiller-Couch, Chambers, Pollard, Alexander, J. D. Wilson, Granville-Barker, J. M. Robertson, Thorndike and others have approached the subject from new view-points and have materially added to it. The literature on Shakespeare—already encyclopædic—bids fair to grow in dimensions and “critical and scholarly notions about Shakespeare have changed in the last 30 years.”¹ The great master of human passions will always present us with new problems for solution which will ever remain open and the final word on the poet will still remain unsaid.

¹ G. B. Harrison—*Introducing Shakespeare*, p. 69 (Penguin series).

At the outset, the present writer might be held presumptuous in descending into such an arena and trying to cross swords with so many masters of acknowledged merit and may be placed in the category of those who rush in where angels fear to tread ; but his task is, indeed, less pretentious and an humble one. In the beginning one is simply appalled by the divergent views of the writers and the critics of accepted authority and the far-fetched interpretations they have put forward on facts which admit perhaps of easy solutions. To take one or two instances: The Danish author, George Brandes, who, a foreigner though he be, shows an admirable command of his subject and has studied Elizabethan literature and the condition of the English society towards the close of the sixteenth up to the middle of the seventeenth century, has, it appears, been thrown off the track by trying to connect the plays of Shakespeare with his mood of mind at that time ; no less futile seems to be his attempt to read into the texts of his plays various biographical data of the poet, and in this line of research Brandes has his precursor, Dowden.¹ The sonnets, again, present an infinite variety of interpretations ; several authors go so far as to connect the dark lady with Mary Fitton, a maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth. The hapless reader thus finds himself completely lost in the labyrinthine maze of literature emanating from the pens of commentators and critics holding contradictory and divergent views, and would naturally look for a cue to unravel the skein.

The scholiasts, commentators and conjectural emendators have often confounded the confusion and vastly added to the difficulty, and have served to scare away an average reader. Thus Pope, Theobald, Warburton, Hanmer, Capell, Samuel Johnson, Steevens, Malone—each according to his own light—have made conjectural emendations and hence even in the middle of the eighteenth century Henry Fielding in his humorous way gives vent to his feelings in his *Journey to the Other World*:

“ I then observed Shakespeare standing between Betterton and Booth, and deciding a difference between those two great actors, concerning the placing an accent in one of his lines: this was disputed

¹ The idea, it seems, originated with Malone, *cf.* Vol. II (ed. 1821), p. 352.

It is observable our author's son, Hamlet, died in August, 1596. That a man of such sensibility, and of so amiable a disposition, should have lost his only son, who had attained the age of twelve years, without being greatly affected by it, will not be easily credited. The pathetic lamentations which he has written for Lady Constance on the death of Arthur, may perhaps add some probability to the supposition that this tragedy was written at, or soon after, that period.

on both sides with a warmth which surprised me in Elysium, till I discovered by Intuition, that every soul retained its principal characteristic, being indeed, its very Essence. The Line was that celebrated one in *Othello*.

'Put out the Light and then put out the light,' according to Betterton. Mr. Booth contended to have it thus.

'Put out the Light, and then put out the Light.' I could not help offering my conjecture on this occasion, and suggested it might perhaps be:

'Put out the Light, and then put out the light.' Another hinted a reading very sophisticated in my opinion.

'Put out the Light and put out thee, Light'; making Light to be the vocative case. Another would have altered the last word, and read—

'Put out thy Light, and then put out thy light.'

But Betterton said, if the Text was to be disturbed, he saw no reason why a word might not be changed as well as a letter, and instead of put out thy Light, you might read put out thy Eyes. At last it was agreed on all sides, to refer the matter to the Decision of Shakespeare himself, who delivered his sentiments as follows: 'Faith, Gentlemen, it is so long since I wrote the Line, I have forgot my Meaning. This I know, could I have dreamt so much nonsense would have been talked, and writ about it, I would have blotted it out of my works, for, I am sure, if any of these be my Meaning, it doth me very little Honour.'

In order, however, that the reader may be placed in a favourable position to approach the subject it is desirable that he should be well-grounded in certain preliminaries relating to the condition of the stage and stage-writers towards the third quarter of the sixteenth century. It will be the aim of the present writer to submit them one by one in a concise and systematic way as far as practicable.

PRELIMINARIES

(a) *Elizabethan England.*

The consideration of the achievements which the greatest poet of the world has made in the field of English dramatic literature is bound to remain imperfect if we fail to understand the true spirit of the age in which he flourished. Elizabethan England is the proper back-

ground of the marvellous picture which the Elizabethan dramatists in general presented to the world and it will not be out of place to describe here certain salient features of the social and political situation of the land under the famous Tudor monarchs, notably Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.

All of them were profoundly learned and great supporters of learning. Their inclination for literature indirectly supplied impetus to the *litterateurs* of the soil. When the continent was plunging into the turmoils of religious controversy and divided all countries into camps—conservatives and radicalists—England was smoothly passing her days under the sovereignty of Henry VIII—the Defender of Faith—as an erstwhile supporter of Papacy. But matters were not to continue in this tame way and England had to shake off the yoke of Rome as a result of Henry's plan of divorcing Queen Katherine and subsequently marrying Anne Boleyn, mother of Queen Elizabeth. A change of policy of the state towards the church had taken place and Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher had to place their heads under the executioner's axe for refusing to acknowledge the king as the supreme head of English church.

Mary, however, threw the dice in the reverse order and Roman Catholic faith began to acquire its lost strength. But already the general outlook of the people had begun to change since the advent of Protestant ideas which were gaining in volume and intensity. With her premature death the wheel turned a full cycle; Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558 to bring England in the forefront and to make her an aspiring nation of vast potentialities. Protestantism brought home free-thinking among the populace and emancipated their minds from the shackles of age-long prejudice and superstition; as a result of this, strong individualistic and keen rationalistic spirit began to grow. Simultaneously with the growth of this spirit Spain initiated England in adventures, and Queen Elizabeth's far-sighted policy successfully blended these rare qualities acquired by the nation and she gave it the actual impetus for real action. People became sturdy and fearless, adventurous and ambitious, seekers of fortune and unmindful of failures. In fact, during the reign of Elizabeth the English phase of Renaissance reached its zenith.

The literary talents of the nation began to develop as the general political situation was becoming favourable. A galaxy of talents in diverse fields dazzled the firmament of national life. Raleigh, Drake,

Coke, Hooker, Shakespeare, Spenser, Sidney, Bacon, Jonson are names which still fill every English heart with pride.

It must not, however, be lost sight of that during Shakespeare's youth the English nation was just emerging from barbarism. Henry VIII accompanied by Queen Katherine was in the habit of witnessing the Jousts, bear-baiting, bull-baiting and such like cruel pastimes which were, in fact, patronised by the nobility, the gentry and the commonalty. The famous theatrical actor-proprietor, Alleyn, maintained bear-gardens and acquired a large fortune therefrom. This with his other incomes from the theatres, etc., enabled him to found his "God's gift" or Dulwich College, which he very richly endowed.

The dialects spoken had not till then taken their standard form and varied from place to place. But on the whole the language of the midland counties was steadily being established in literature. Then again, the land-system of the country was in a transitional state and while the lords were parting with their lands, the middle class people were becoming land-owners. In short, the whole country was passing through a vast and all-round change, and the literature of the land was coloured accordingly.

At this time King Phillip was the sovereign of Spain, Austria and the Netherlands, and was indeed controlling the foreign policy of practically the whole of Europe. England was a nation in the making and her aspirations were looked upon with grave concern by Spain. With the close of the religious feuds in the Netherlands, which so long kept the king of Spain's attention engrossed, Phillip of Spain sent the famous Armada (1588) to crush England once for all. Elizabeth had to face the contingency with as much strength and prudence as were in her and the miracle happened. The defeat of the Spanish Armada and the consequent humbling of Spain had the effect of a great national awakening in England. Her sons gained self-reliance and fully utilized the advantage which Spain thrust at her door. The English nation now circumnavigated the globe, fitted out commercial enterprises in the East and West Indies and established colonies in the far distant part of the world, namely America, enrolled as volunteers in the Netherlands in the Protestant cause. Then again, in the centre of humanist culture, namely Italy, there were pilgrims from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who returned laden with the literature of Ariosto, Petrarch, Machiavelli, Boccaccio and Bandello. France, following in the wake of Italy, had absorbed the

literature, of Renaissance and attracted a band of English seekers of the new classical learning. Ronsard and Garnier were made familiar to the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge.¹ This had its repercussion in the cultured society of England. Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, as already pointed out, were all cultivators of the learned tongues and often sought solace in dramatic performances. Queen Elizabeth was a great devotee of the classical tongues and her command over the continental languages excited the envy of her contemporaries. Roger Ascham, Queen Elizabeth's tutor, gives his testimony in the following sentences :

"Yea, I believe that, beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day than some prebendary of this church doth read Latin in a whole week. And that what is most praiseworthy of all, within the walls of her privy-chamber she hath obtained that excellent of learning, to understand, speak or write both wittily with head and fair with hand as scarce one or two rare wits in both the Universities have in many years reached unto."

But the general mass was steeped in illiteracy and Shakespeare's father could not write his name even though he was the bailiff of the Stratford Corporation. Besides, they were highly credulous and believed in all sorts of ghosts, witches, fairies and supernatural beings.

Dr. Samuel Johnson graphically describes the general literary atmosphere of England at the time of Shakespeare in the following lines :

"The English nation, in the time of Shakespeare, was yet struggling to emerge from barbarity. The philology of Italy had been transplanted hither in the reign of Henry VIII ; and the learned languages had been successfully cultivated by Lilly, Linacre and More ; by Pole, Cheke, and Gardiner, and afterwards by Smith Clerk, Haddon and Ascham. Greek was now taught to boys in the principal schools and those who united elegance with learning read with great diligence the Italian and Spanish poets. But literature was yet confined to professed scholars, or to men and women of high rank. The public was gross and dark, and to be able to read and write was an accomplishment still valued for its rarity."

¹ Kyd, as far as one can make out, was a non-university man, yet he had mastered the French language and translated Garnier's *Cornelie* under the patronage of Lady Pembroke.

(b) *The Early English Stage.*

In the transitional period in Elizabethan England, when land was slipping out of the hands of the lords, the traders and the middle classes were making substantial speculations in land-investments. As a rule these new owners of land were making the best efforts to get the maximum return from out of their landed properties and as such they converted arable lands into pastures which were evidently expected to yield better monetary return. The unavoidable consequence of this change of policy of the land-holding classes was that the agriculturists had to become landless and unemployed, and had to take to some other profession that would provide for their livelihood, no matter what this new vocation of their life might have been. Again, with the end of the religious feuds in the Netherlands a number of Englishmen who had enrolled themselves as volunteers in the Protestant cause there, returned out of occupation to their motherland almost ragged and penniless. It was, indeed, extremely difficult for the state and the public in the sixteenth century to offer adequate employments to these disbanded volunteers and landless peasants and it was quite natural that the country was flooded with vagrants and vagabonds who had really no ostensible means of livelihood.

These fellows often took to stealing and highway robbery and as such the British Parliament could not but enact from time to time several severe laws for restraining them in their various malpractices. "Capital punishment was the invariable penalty for robbery and it was difficult to supply sufficient gibbets whereon to hang the offenders."

Minstrels, mountebanks and strolling actors were all included in the category of vagabonds and no wonder that Taine should observe of Shakespeare in the following terms:

"He was a comedian, one of 'His Majesty's poor players'—a sad trade, degraded in all ages by the contrasts and the falsehoods inseparable from it; still more degraded then by the brutalities of the crowd, who not seldom would stone the actors, and by the severities of the magistrates, who would sometimes condemn them to lose their ears."

In order that the actors might claim exemption from the stigma of bad character they had to enroll themselves as the servants of some nobleman or of some gentry of position who might be held responsible for the good behaviour of their retinue and thus a class of actors were exempted from maltreatment. We have thus 'The Earl of Leicester

—his seryants, The Lord Strange—his servants, or the Earl of Pembroke—his servants ' and so forth

But apart from the question of law and order, a vigorous propaganda was being carried on against the stage and the Puritan movement was making considerable headway among the London public, especially the civic authorities. Although the masses and the court could not or did not support the attempts of the Puritans to denounce the stage, the Puritan movement was gaining in intensity among the middle class of the then London population. The civic authorities of the city represented this section of people most and were in frequent collision with the Privy Council. A Lord Mayor of London considered the theatre-going public as " being of the base and refuse sort of people or such gentlemen as have small regard of credit and conscience," and the playhouses as " the ordinary places for vagrant persons, masterless men, thieves, horse-stealers, whore-mongers, cozeners, cony-catchers, contrivers of treason and other idle and dangerous persons to meet together." Queen Elizabeth was, however, a staunch supporter of players and often sought solace in Court performances. Only one thing the sovereign would keep her eye upon as in her proclamation, dated May 15, 1559, she orders " that they (Lieutenantes for the quenes Maiestie) permyt none to be played wherin either matters of religion or of the gouernaunce of the estate of the common weale" have been criticised. The Councillors, though some of them had decided Puritan leanings, could not but adopt a *via media*. On the one hand, they had to gratify their sovereign and on the other, had to put a check on the overzealous city-fathers. The theatre-managers themselves had again evaded the law by erecting their playhouses in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey whose mayors were more favourably disposed towards the stage and which were situated just outside the 'Liberty' of London.

Among those who hurled their unwarranted invectives against the stage Phillip Stubbs and Stephen Gosson deserve prominent mention. Gosson was himself a dramatist and saw several of his plays placed on the boards as he in his *School of Abuse* offers an explanation for his writing plays in the following lines: " I have sinned, and am sorry for my fault: I gave myself to that exercise in hope to thrive but I burnt one candle to seek another, and lost bothe my time and my trauell, when I had doone." In this piece he deprecates plays, reproaches players and condemns playhouses where " every

wanton and his paramour, every man and his mistress, every John and his Joan, every Knave and his queane, are there first acquainted." Phillip Stubbs in his *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) considers "Theatres and curtaines Venus pallaces, to worship deuils and betray Christ Iesus." Similarly, Anthony Munday (1580), who was a dramatist first, then a denouncer of dramas and ultimately returned to his own vomit, regards plays as "publike enemies to virtue and religion: allurements Unto sinne; corrupters of good manners; the cause of securitie and carelesnes; meere brothel houses of Banderie; and bring both the Gospel into slander; the Sabbath into contempt; mens soules into danger; and finalie the whole common-weale into disorder."

Nor was condemnation from the pulpit lacking. Thomas White in a sermon preached at Pawle's crosse on 3rd November, 1577, remarks: "The cause of plagues is sinne, ... and the cause of sinne are playes."

The dramatists, however, failed not to answer the charge against their profession and strove very hard to vindicate their trade and their supporters, the theatre-going public. Lodge, Nashe and finally Heywood among the notables came forward with their arguments, each in his own way, in support of the stage.

Thomas Nashe (*Pierce Penilesse*, 1592) emphatically supports plays and says: "How would it have joyed brave Talbot (the terror of the French) to think that after he had lain two hundred years in his tomb, he should triumph on the stage, and have his bones now enbalm'd with the tears of ten thousands spectators at least (several times) who in the tragedian that represents his person imagine they behold him fresh bleeding." Thomas Heywood too (*An Apology for Actors*), interrogates in the same vein: "What coward, to see his countrymen valiant, would not be ashamed of his owne cowardise." According to him, "playing is an ornament to the Citty." It refines the taste of the mass, provides the ignorant instructions and teaches them moral lessons.

Despite all attempts of the Puritans to suppress the stage the greater bulk of the people supported it—nay, went mad over theatrical displays. We cannot summarise the chapter better than in the words of Emerson: "People wanted them (players and plays). Inn yards, houses without roofs and extemporaneous enclosures at country fairs, were the ready theatres of strolling players. The people had tasted this new Joy."

(To be continued)

THE DOCTRINE OF MALNUTRITION IN ITS BEARINGS ON OVER-POPULATION

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMIC INDIA)

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR,

Docteur en géographie honoris causa.

THE FOOD-ECONOMY OF INDIA

IN connection with the population question we have to deal with the problems of food, nutrition and economic efficiency. The deliberations of the Crop-Planning Conference, held at Simla in June, 1934, should appear to be very valuable. The report tells us that in regard to the rice and wheat resources of India there is no need for any scare.

The problems of rice and wheat were studied province by province, both in regard to indigenous output as well as exports and imports. The object of investigation was to ascertain if there was any over-production. The conference came to the conclusion that neither as regards rice nor as regards wheat was it desirable for any provincial government either to offer any stimulus to an increase in the present acreages or to recommend restriction. Food shortage, then, was considered to be out of the question.

The crops situation should corroborate the findings of the *Census of India, 1931, Vol. I. India, Part I Report* (Delhi, 1933, p. 30), to the effect that the "danger of a shortage of food supply is not the most serious aspect of the question," and that the "point has not yet been reached at which the ability of the country to feed its occupants is seriously taxed."

As for the Indian standard of living attention may be drawn, first, to the diversities of standard in other countries by way of general orientation. Let us look to the meat-ratio of European dietaries as revealed by the *International Labour Review* (Geneva, December, 1933, pp. 873-875). Those statistics are well calculated to convince us that we cannot afford to speak of a general European, or even Teutonic, or Slavic standard. Nay, a general working class standard also is unthinkable even for a single country. The meat-index cannot be taken as a correlate of climate or national wealth or efficiency.

The so-called rice-standard of China, Japan and India, deserves intensive analysis. Indian experts will find reasons to agree with the Japanese scholar Isoshi Asahi who maintains in *The Secret of Japan's Trade Expansion* (Tokyo, 1934), that dietetically, the rice-standard is not necessarily inferior to the beef-standard. Besides, if we examine the folk dietaries as prevalent in Bengal and other rice-standard countries we should have to stress the fact that these are not exclusively starch dietaries. Protein, salts and vitamins of diverse orders are factually available in the articles generally consumed by the masses of Southern and Eastern Asia including India through millenniums, although the relative smallness of meat is to be admitted as a reality.

Another important point, which has a special economic bearing, is to be adduced. It is to the effect that in Bengal and other semi-industrial or predominantly agricultural countries the natural and barter economies as contrasted with the market or price economy prevail in a considerable measure. The masses in large proportions are not, as a rule, much affected by the high or low prices or ups and downs of prices. Although statistically not defined and undefinable the masses have therefore very often the chance to consume large quantities of substantial food stuffs, no matter what be their income in terms of money. Instances of agriculturists such as bring their food crops to the bazars for barter or sale without keeping an adequate supply for their annual family nourishment are rare, to say the least.

THE QUESTION OF CALORIE PLANNING

Owing to the absence of adequate information the amount of calories and vitamins available in the daily food of the millions in India is an unknown quantity. Good results may be expected from the Nutrition Research Laboratories established by the Indian Research Fund Association at Coonoor. In the meanwhile Indian demographers ought to favour schemes of reconstruction in the articles as well as in cooking. The food-reform movement prevalent in England might help India with suggestions in this regard. India ought also to profit by the example of Japan, which although a "low-standard country" by the Eur-American beef-standard has in certain particulars succeeded in rising up to the industrial might as sustained by it. The calorie-vitamin complex is like every thing else in economic and social affairs to be taken in a "relative" as contrasted with the absolute manner.

"Food-planning," or calorie-planning for the teeming millions of India is accordingly a matter of degrees, doses or stages. India should by all means discard the Anglo-German-American conception of national welfare while discussing the improvement of her own standard or standards. We ought to be interested just in those measures that are calculated to help forward the emergence of the "next stage in our socio-economic life." It is the relatively more modest programmes of uplift adapted to the age-long and primitive conditions obtaining in the country that should belong to the statesmanship of food reform.

The problem of "relativities" and "next stages" in food planning, calorie-vitamine complex, nutritional minimum, etc., deserves emphasis. During the Great War the Inter-Allied Food Stuffs Commission bestowed considerable discussions on the problem of calories. Starling, the British physiologist, and the French experts were for different figures according to nationality, which implied mainly the dimensions of the body and temperature. Against differentiation argued the Italian statistician, Gini, who claimed that if duration of work, profession, etc., were considered, the calorie requirement for the Italian would not be less than those for the British and the French. According to Starling the Italian requirements would be 3177, the French 3220 and the British 3300.¹ We may add here East's demand in *Mankind at the Cross Roads* (New York, 1925), for 3500 in regard to the Americans.

There are still other ideas about adequate calorie requirements, and to those also the attention of Indian demographers ought to be invited. At the World Population Conference (Geneva, 1927) Monsieur Henri Brenier² of Marseilles observed that according to French physician, 1650 calories would be enough in hot seasons and in hot climates for a male adult weighing 55 kilos and performing light work. The corresponding figure for cold seasons and cold climates was 2750 calories. This French standard would then look upon the previous standards as by all means too high.

In the perspective of these war and post-war standards we may place the recent "London standards". The Technical Commission of the Health Committee of the League of Nations met in London in November, 1935. The conclusions of Burnet and Aykroyd's paper on

¹ C. Gini : *Problemi Sociologici della Guerra* (Bologna, 1921), pp. 156-174.

² *Proceedings of the World Population Conference* (London, 1927), p. 93.

"Nutrition and Public Health" in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations* (Geneva, June, 1935), were accepted by the Technical Commission. The "physiological bases of nutrition" as recommended by the Commission comprise the following items: (1) that in temperate regions the minimum for the health of the average man or woman not engaged in manual labour is 2,400 net calories, (2) that for light work 50 calories per hour, for moderate work 50-100 calories p.h., and for hard work 100-200 calories p.h., and so forth would be required in addition.

The first criticism about these so-called London standards, is, as has been observed by the authors of *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* published by the International Labour Office (Geneva, 1936, p. 6) that the standard contemplated here is primarily a Eur-American standard. Neither India nor any major countries of Asia in the socio-economic conditions of India are taken cognizance of in this physiological nutrition minimum. Indian demographers, economists, food-reformers or social servants should not, therefore, jump at these standards with a view to render them accessible to the Indian people overnight.

We ought further to observe that the 2400 calorie unit is not a very high standard when one recalls the many recommendations by previous experts of diverse countries. And yet so far as Eur-America is concerned, it is too high for very many countries as well as very many classes of men and women in each country.

Malnutrition is indeed a world-reality and is not confined exclusively to the poorer countries. "The lowest income groups—even in the United States and Germany—are insufficiently supplied with calories according to London standards. In so far as proteins are concerned, only the richest countries and the highest income groups attain the London standards. The majority of the workers of the world can be assumed to fall short of this ideal." The problem of the nutrition of agricultural workers is, even as regards the number of calories, below an adequate level in view of the trying work these workers have to perform, and the composition is too unilateral to ensure the maintenance of a good standard of health throughout life."³

We may now call attention to a German standard, which is still more recent. According to the findings of the *Reichsarbeitsgemein-*

³ *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* (Geneva, 1936), pp. 76-79.

schaft fuer Volksernaehrung and the *Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Ernaehrungsforschung*, as reported by J. Schwaibold of the German Institute for Research in the Chemistry of Foodstuff (Munich) in 1937, a change over to proteins and fats (*i.e.*, meat, butter, etc.) from carbohydrates (potatoes, grain, etc.) is not desirable. A change of nutrition in the opposite direction is considered to be a necessity. In this position we encounter a veritable revolution in nutritional physiology. The latest conclusions of German nutrition experts prescribe an adequate diet as made up of the following items: (1) protein (80 grammes), (2) fat (70 g.) and (3) carbohydrates (450 g.). The total calories required for adequate nutrition come up to the modest figure of 2800. For the working adult engaged in ordinary work a daily consumption of 50 g. of albumen (protein) and a very modest amount of fat with a correspondingly greater consumption of carbohydrates is considered to be the desideratum.⁴

In case the 2800 calorie unit be considered adequate for the average German, the question for Indians as well as Chinese, Japanese and other Asians has to be solved according to the principles of relativity. Occupation, physique (weight, stature) and climate are important modifying factors. What percentage of the German unit,—75 per cent., 60 per cent. or 50 per cent,—would be regarded as fairly adequate for India? That is an important physiological problem which can and ought to be discussed in a dispassionate manner. We should be convinced that whenever the estimates of India's food resources or food shortage are attempted by demographers and economists on the 3000, 2800, 2400, or 2000 or 1600 calorie basis they are likely very often to be without scientific foundations.

By multiplying 350 or 400 million inhabitants by 3000 or 1600 calories we may get the astronomical figure of 5 to 12 billion calories as the total "requirements" for the Indian population. As long as the multiplier can range between 1600 and 3000 it is questionable if the multiplication, although a very simple process, is worth while in a serious demographic study. The other side of the shield is not less complicated. In order to find out whether the total requirements in calories can be supplied by the total food resources of India we should be in a position to estimate these latter with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Here the Government statistics do not claim finality of

⁴ *Germany and You* (Berlin, 1937), No. 8.

any sort. Besides, there is the very important consideration that considerable proportions of the output belong to what is known as the natural economy as distinguished from the barter and the market economies. It is nothing short of guess-work of extraordinary dimensions that can be attempted in regard to the output of agricultural and animal and other food resources, first, in amount, and secondly in calories.

THE IDEOLOGY OF INDIAN EXPERTS IN MALNUTRITION AND OVER-POPULATION

In a paper on "The Population Problem in India" (*Indian Journal of Medical Research*, Calcutta, October, 1935, p. 560) A. J. N. Russell and K. C. K. E. Raja observe that the acreage in India under foodcrops per head of population is 0.79. Then they quote the results of "recent studies made in the United States of America" on the strength of which they maintain that the amount of land required *per capita* per year in order to produce (1) a restricted diet for emergency use is 1.2 acres and (2) a liberal diet is 2.1 acres. It is to be observed that the acreage available discussed in the first statement has reference to India while the acreage required for different kinds of food refers to the U. S. A. There is no logical and necessary connection between these two orders of facts, supposing for the moment that each of these facts is unquestionable. But the authors have made it a point to conclude without a word of explanation that "judged by these figures it is clear that India is not producing sufficient food for its present population." In reality the two classes of facts have no bearing on each other, and one is not entitled to draw any conclusion.

John Megaw's two unpublished memoranda of 1932, *Inquiry into Certain Public Health Aspects of Village Life in India*, and *Further Notes on the Formation of a Public Health Board*, have been drawn upon by Russell and Raja. "The dispensary doctors," we are told, "regard 39 per cent. of the people as being well nourished, 41 per cent. poorly nourished and 20 per cent. very badly nourished." It is concluded that "malnutrition is widespread among the inhabitants of rural India." This position is perhaps acceptable. But at the same time, in view of the fact that the authors are interested in food and population policy for India it should be proper to point out that in practically every country a certain percentage of population may be

demonstrated to be undernourished according to the customary standard prevailing there. The demonstration has indeed come from the investigations of the calorie experts published by the League of Nations (*Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy*, 1936, pp. 76-79).

On the strength of evidences in regard to malnutrition Russell and Raja conclude (p. 563) that "India is already over-populated." There is no harm in drawing this conclusion provided they are prepared also to do the same in regard to all those regions of the world where malnutrition can be demonstrated to exist by the physiologists and calorie-doctors.

There is another point that deserves careful attention. In case malnutrition or absence of adequate nutrition be taken to be equivalent to or an index of over-population at the present moment, it will be necessary to hold that India was perhaps over-populated even at the start and of course in 1590, with 100 millions.⁵ Indeed, the entire world-history will also have to be treated as nothing but the annals of over-population in all ages and climes. The reason is obvious. Even without being a socialist or communist one can easily see that malnutrition of some sort or other, *i.e.*, poverty, low-standard of living, etc. has been a socio-economic reality of very large numbers of men and women in every nook and corner of the world from the days of the *Rig-Veda* and the Hesiodic *Works and Days* down to our own times. If the study of population is to be carried on along these lines the demographer will be led to the theory of universal and eternal over-population.

This is a profoundly pessimistic view of history. But a position like this is quite reasonable. It is however utterly worthless for practical purposes. In the interest of rational population-planning one should pay due heed to the doses of malnutrition and poverty prevailing at the present moment and the dangers of increasing poverty and malnutrition in the future. But the chief consideration should be bestowed on the slow but solid indices to actual improvements effected in recent years or likely to be consummated in the near future. We can therefore accept Megaw's proposition to the effect that "there is some difference of opinion as to whether the conditions of life have improved or deteriorated during the past fifty years, but even if some slight improvement may have taken place, the existing

⁵ W. H. Moreland : *India at the Death of Akbar* (London, 1920), p. 22

state of affairs is still so profoundly unsatisfactory that it demands investigation and redress." (p. 563.)

INDICES OF INDIAN PROSPERITY

In case the existence of poverty, low standard of living, deficiency in calories, modest expectation of life and so forth be treated as indices of over-population, as done by the present author in the paper in Italian for the International Congress of Population at Rome (1931), India can be perhaps demonstrated to be over-populated in every epoch of her history since the Mahenjodaro times. But owing to the absence of dependable figures for previous epochs it may inspire certain classes of economists or sociologists to postulate the golden ages of bygone days in national prosperity and collective efficiency. In the perspective of those imaginary blisses they may find it easy likewise to wail over the alleged increasing poverty, malnutrition, over-population and what not in recent years.

To prove that India is poor today is undoubtedly very easy. But it does not imply that India has become poorer than in 1850, 1800, 1700 or so forth. Similarly, to demonstrate that Indian dietaries are deficient in calories to the extent of 500, 1000, 1500 or more calories according to some hypothetically ideal standard of the present moment is not a difficult job as it is not difficult even in the richest countries. In England,⁶ for instance, the results of several inquiries showed that in certain instances deficiency in calories was to the tune of 1110, 1320, 1401, 1505, 1732 and 1795.

The existence of deficiency in the present dietary cannot entitle one to the belief that there was no deficiency or less deficiency 50, 100, 150 or 200 years ago. What should be valuable, however, is to be convinced that there has actually taken place a relative increase in poverty or in deficiency of calories in the course of generations or decades. That remains yet to be proven in order to justify a menace of over-population in India.

A *point d'appui* is the statement of Rammohun Roy⁷ before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1831. In an extensive report on the economic condition and standard of living of the

⁶ *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* (Geneva, 1936), p. 193.

⁷ *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy* (Panini Office, Allahabad, 1906), pp. 297-98.

different classes of people in India, he observed that "rice, a few vegetables, salt, hot spices and fish" or "rice and salt only" constituted the common food. The statistical foundations of Rammohun Roy's statement are unknown. But in case the Rammohun standard be acceptable as describing somewhat the conditions of the people in the earlier years of the nineteenth century, it is questionable if the conditions in the corresponding period of the twentieth century have worsened.

More or less dependable figures relating to different branches of agriculture, manufacture and commerce are available for the last thirty or even fifty years. These economic indices point almost as a rule to figures rising from point to point.

For instance, in regard to the consumption of wheat in India *per capita* per year we have the following figures :

Year.	Wheat in Bushels.	Wheat flour (in Kilogram).
1910-1914	0.77	14.7
1923-1927	0.80	15.2
1928-1932	0.78	14.9
1932-1935	0.80	15.2

From 1910 to 1935 it is possible to notice an increase. It is however very slight. One ought to say that per head of population the wheat ration has just maintained its level during this quarter of a century.

Another item of universal importance like wheat may be mentioned. This is cotton cloth.

From 1905 to 1910 the net imports, *swadeshi* mill production and the output of the handlooms together amounted to the following yards *per capita* of the total population ⁹ :

1905-06	...	13.60
1906-07	...	13.09
1907-08	...	13.94
1908-09	...	12.26
1909-10	...	12.61
Total of five years	...	65.44

⁸ *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* (Geneva, 1936), p. 226.

⁹ *Review of the Trade of India, 1934-35*, p. 81.

The yardage of cotton piecegoods *per capita* per year was then 13·9.

For a recent quinquennium the corresponding figures were as follows ¹⁰:

1932-33	...	16·70
1933-34	...	14·17
1934-35	...	15·60
1935-36	...	16·57
1936-37	...	15·54
Total of five years		78·58

The yardage *per capita* per year was then 15·71. The standard of living of the people may then be taken to have risen in this line from the 1905 to the 1937 period although, again, in slight proportions.

In 1921 the total Savings Bank deposits amounted to Rs. 228,621,716. They rose to Rs. 746,767,083.¹¹ The expansion is considerable proportionally much more than the growth of population during the same period. This increment in capital should be interpreted, however, more as an improvement in the saving or banking habits of the people than as an increment in the amount of national wealth.

The problem of raising the calorie-level or the standard of living and efficiency is not identical with the question of fixing the hypothetical ideal or the scientific physiological or socio-economic minimum. The more important consideration in this regard is the ascertainment of the level or the standard obtaining at the present moment or the level and the standard to which the class, group, race or country has been traditionally used for long periods, for generations, nay, for centuries. And so far as patriotism, economic statesmanship or practical social service is concerned, the methodology should consist not in harping on the "ideal" or the scientific minimum although the discussion by itself is quite desirable in theory, but in attempting to raise the present traditional level just a few degrees upwards. For instance, in case the working class in India in certain occupations and certain regions be used to the effective wage rate of 4 annas per day, it would be neither patriotism nor science to think of raising it to 12 annas in five or ten years (currency conditions remaining the same), as the National Planning Committee is alleged to be contemplating. No

¹⁰ R. T. I., 1936-37, p. 43.

¹¹ *Colonial Savings Banks* (Glasgow, 1938), p. 53.

super-Herculean efforts could accomplish such a miracle. An increment to the extent of 10, 15 or 20 per cent. would belong to practical statesmanship under normal conditions. Similarly in regard to calories. In case the agriculturists, workingmen, intellectuals and others be used for generations to the 1500, 1600, or 1800 calorie-level, it would be reasonable to think not of the hypothetical 2800 or 2400 niveau in the course of five, ten or fifteen years but perhaps to the 1600, 1700 or 1900. It is on this basis that the available calories from all Indian food resources—provided it be possible to make a more or less correct estimate—should have to be rationed for the 400 millions if it is at all necessary to undertake such programmes in order to satisfy the scientific curiosity. Under such conditions the food situation in India *vis-à-vis* her teeming millions might appear to be more or less reassuring.

PROGRESS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN INDIA

According to *Census Report* for 1931, Vol. I. Part I. (Delhi, 1933, p. 290) "industry occupies 10% India's workers as compared to 11% in 1921." It has become the custom, therefore, among Indian economists to point to this fact as evidence of decay in Indian industry or retardation in the industrial movement. This, however, is a fallacious position. But the fallacy has none the less attacked non-Indian scholars as well. For instance, it is apparent in *World Population* (Oxford, 1936, p. 274) that Carr-Saunders has been misled. He has taken the comparative figures at their face value and observes: "The proportion of the population so engaged (in industry) declined from 10·7 per cent. in 1921 to 9·8 per cent. in 1931." The fallacy has arisen in this case as in others from overlooking the explanations offered by the Government statisticians responsible for the collection of the Indian figures in 1921 and 1931.

It was pointed out in my paper on the "Economics of Employment *vis-à-vis* Demographic Reconstruction" at the Second Indian Population Conference, Bombay, 1938, that the figures for 1931 were not comparable with those for 1921. In the first place, in 1931 new categories were introduced, such as "working dependant" and "non-working dependant." Secondly, there was a growing tendency not to report women as gainfully employed. In the third place, the number of children reported as dependant, *i. e.*, non-earning and workless was on the increase. And last but not least, persons listed in one occupa-

tion in 1921 were transferred to another occupation in 1931. The result is that altogether a large number of discrepancies arose which were due exclusively to the purely technical or formal changes in the statistical method. Increase or decrease in the categories of occupation was thus not necessarily and invariably to be accounted for by the increase or decrease of the persons employed in the occupations.¹²

In the *Census Report* for 1931, Vol. I. *India*, Part I (Delhi, 1933, p. 281) there is a comparison between 1921 and 1931 in regard to the proportion of persons gainfully employed in industry, transport and trade. Per 10,000 gainfully employed the figures for these three items are as follows:

Occupation.	1921	1931	Difference of 1931 from 1921
Industry	1,075	997	-78
Transport	134	153	+21
Trade	550	515	-35

It is evident that there is a decline of 78 in industry and of 35 in trade but an increase of 21 in transport. Altogether the decline per 10,000 is to be measured by 92.

But the *Census Report* has made it clear that this decrease is "apparent rather than real" as in several other items of the 1931 calculations. In the case of these three occupations the decrease of 92 is "largely met by the increase of 99 in Class XI. The insufficiently described occupations in that class are, at any rate in the great majority of cases, general terms connected with industry and trade such as 'shopkeeper', 'trade', 'contractor' or 'coolie' which cannot be allotted to any particular category."

In regard to the increase in transport the *Census Report* observes as follows: "Communications have everywhere increased, roads are better, and motor traffic has become more ubiquitous during the decade. Indeed, if there is any cause for doubt it is whether the increase has not really been greater than that indicated by the figures." Finally, "there is a general tendency towards increase in what may be described as modernized occupations."

The economist does not therefore have to conclude that industrialization has been moving backwards. In so far as the occupational

¹² *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I. *India*, Part I, *Report* (Delhi, 1933), pp. 273-274, 281, 289.

structure of India based on industrial activities is an index to modernization in economy and improvement in the standard of living, the demographist ought to feel reassured that the progress of industrialization is a fact of contemporary Indian economy. During the decade 1921-1931, India did not become more agricultural and less industrial.

Industrialization or the industrial structure succeeded in maintaining its relative level of 1921. And since in 1931 the old level was just maintained for a much larger number of population, the increase in the volume of industrialism or the number of persons gainfully employed in industry is to be interpreted as progress in industrialization although on a modest plane.

GIRISHCHANDRA BOSE

A PORTRAIT IN MINIATURE

B. K. PALIT, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (LOND.)

ONE of the greatest of Indians, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, once had occasion to remark, "What Bengal thinks to-day, the rest of India will think to-morrow." And he held no brief for Bengal; he was merely stating a simple truth. For, in those days, Bengal did lead the rest of India; and the men who led Bengal were great pioneers in all branches of a nation's activities. Unfortunately, most of them are no longer living; the connection of modern Bengal with that glorious past is getting thinner and thinner. And, with the passing away of Girishchandra Bose, veteran Educationist and pioneer Botanist, the link with the past came very near snapping.

In the year 1853, there was born, in the hamlet of Berugram, of Babu Janakiprasad Bose and his wife Khetramoni, a son whom they named Girishchandra. Janakiprasad was a country gentleman of the old type, yet well-educated and liberal enough in his ideas. Berugram was a sleepy little village in Burdwan district. Fortunately for Bengal, Girishchandra shook off its sleepiness and shifted to Hughli town, where his uncle, Babu Rajvallabh Bose, was a *peshkar*. With this genial uncle and a loving aunt, Girishchandra found a kindly home, and was put to school with his two cousins. They were all much of an age, and had much in common. One of the cousins died while still at school, but the other, Jogendrachandra, lived to start the well-known Bengali weekly paper, the *Bangabasi*, in after years.

Having passed the Entrance Examination in 1870, Girishchandra left the Hughli School to enter the college, in which he remained for six years. He took up the Science course and passed all the examinations with credit. The Hughli College meant much to him and to the last he retained a deep affection for it. At the time of its centenary celebrations held in 1935, he made a princely donation in response to the Principal's request, showing thereby the kindly feelings he still cherished for his old college.

In the B.A. Examination of 1876, Girishchandra scored the highest marks in Botany. Immediately after this, the Director of

Public Instruction offered the young scholar a Lectureship in Science at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. Girishchandra seized the offer eagerly ; it was the starting point of his memorable career.

Early in 1877, he settled down to his job, continuing in it for the next five years. It was about this time that he married at the desire of his parents. Well-born, carefully nurtured and highly accomplished, his wife, Nirodmohini, possessed a charming, lively and gentle disposition. For more than sixty years she was his companion ; the large family which grew up under her loving and fostering care never felt the want of anything, never had a chance to know what trouble or worry was.

After five years of his new duties, years of happy married life, and not unfruitful in other ways, Girishchandra obtained his M.A. degree—and was offered a State Scholarship for Agricultural studies in England. He was anxious to accept it ; but many of his relatives seemed equally keen that he should not. But having obtained the consent of his parents, one cold, grey December morning in 1881, he quietly caught the boat for England.

He joined the Agricultural College at Cirencester, attaining conspicuous success in his work there. He was made a life-member of the leading Agricultural Societies : he was admitted to the Fellowship of various learned bodies. His stay in England was fruitful in other respects too. It enabled him, for the first time, to take stock of the relative positions of East and West. In Western civilization he found much that was admirable ; he also saw much that was disagreeable. For one thing, he discovered that the inherent superiority of the White Man was an exploded myth. It was true that the West was better educated and organised, more prosperous and healthy, than the East. But all this could be put down to historical and climatic differences—differences which it was by no means impossible to bridge over. And the best way of raising the East to the level of Western civilization was by the spread of mass education. He had noted the tremendous progress made by the English people during the nineteenth century ; and, turning over the matter in his mind, he ascribed it all to the education of the masses. It seemed to point to a moral for India. Let a comprehensive programme of popular education be launched in India, and one would find the ignorance and poverty of centuries disappearing, slowly but surely. India, once the home of a unique culture and of untold wealth, would resume her rightful place

as a leading nation of the world. And he resolved that, on his return to India, he would do his bit in bringing education within reach of his countrymen. That decision guided him throughout his public life.

In May, 1884, Girishchandra said good-bye to England and, after a tour of the Continent—a pilgrimage of education to him—returned to Calcutta. And now the question arose, what was he going to do ? He had been sent to study Agriculture, but, curiously enough, there seemed to be no opening for him in that line. Should he explore other avenues of Government service ? As if in answer to this query, the Government offered him the post of a Deputy Magistrate—quite a decent job in those days. Should he accept it ? His sturdy independence of character prompted him to refuse it. On the other hand, he perceived, it would be immediately useful in keeping the wolf from the door ; and it seemed to open up the vista of a life of ease, of affluence, and, possibly, of distinction. Just then, memories of his resolve in England flashed back to his mind. He had promised his quota of work in the cause of national education, and how could a Deputy Magistrate put through work of such kind ?

So Government service was ruled out, and Girishchandra decided to take the first steps in carrying out his resolve. He would start a school where he could formulate his own principles of popular education. And it would be education for the uplift of the poor, not for the amusement of the rich.

It was with these laudable ideas that the Bangabasi School was founded in 1885. It had a modest beginning, being housed in an unpretentious building in Bowbazar. It was to prepare boys for the University Entrance Examination after a course of six years. To carry through his scheme, he gathered round him a coterie of distinguished and devoted helpers. There was Mr. Bhupalchandra Bose, a college chum of his in England, who afterwards put in a long period of service in the Agricultural Department of Assam ; another friend, Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarty, Barrister and sometime Minister of Bengal, would drop in, whenever free from his professional labours, to help in the work of teaching ; and Satya Prasanna (afterwards Lord) Sinha, too, often came to take the Law classes. With such helpers, and under the inspiration of novel ideas, the school went on gathering fresh strength. The first batch of students came out of the Entrance Examination with flying colours ; and Girishchandra felt encouraged to add a College Department. Accordingly, the College,

which now holds 2,000 odd students, was started with a modest dozen on its rolls, all going up for the F.A. Examination.

The Institution having had a promising start, Girishchandra settled down to enjoy the amenities of family life. He was essentially a family man. For all his devotion to public welfare, and in spite of his various educational activities, it was the family which ever remained his first care. He was never known to neglect family matters for the sake of public business, however important. The family which he founded is still a fine example of a Hindu joint family. The same year which saw the foundation of Bangabasi School also witnessed the birth of his eldest son; and three more sons, and six daughters, were to follow. In this large and growing family circle his hours of relaxation were pleasantly passed. His house stood with its door ever open to welcome friends and relatives; and a large number of these would come to test the Boses' hospitality, which soon became proverbial. His England-returned friends would swear *by* it: they never had occasion to swear *at* it. Every Sunday evening, particularly, there would be a pleasant gathering of friends at the Boses' residence. There, if one happened to look in, he would find the host, his features already beginning to assume their ascetic cast, fussing over his guests; Satya Prasanna Sinha, passing on the latest gossip from the Bar; Byomkesh Chakravarty, already a student of politics, pointing out the defects of the latest Reforms; or, if one were lucky, one would come upon Dwijendra Lal Roy entertaining the company with one of his choice songs, probably composed that very day. Delicious dishes, carefully prepared by Mrs. Bose—she grew famous for her recipes—and served up with her own hands, would be forthcoming, to be washed down with cups of steaming tea or glasses of cooling syrup. Stronger drinks never passed his door. If it was the fashion among his England-returned friends to swear by Bacchus, Girish Chandra never subscribed to the vogue.

In his dress and style of living, too, he did not fall into line with the foreign-educated crowd. Strongly nationalist in sentiment, he stuck to his *dhoti* and *chaddar* on all occasions; and he preferred the *khatia* and *takia* and Indian mats to carpets and Chesterfield suites. The story is told of a visitor who once called on Girish Chandra and made ready to send in his card. He found a man in a *dhoti* lolling on a *khatia*, puffing at his *hookah*. Taking him to be some sort of a *durwan*, the visitor asked if the Sahib was in. "Can't say about any Sahibs, but I happen to be Girish Babu," replied the supposed

durwan, and immediately started up in alarm ; for the visitor looked as if he was going to fall in a fit.

Meanwhile Bangabasi College had been growing step by step ; M.A. and Law classes had lately been appended. So, in 1903, when funds at last allowed, a four-storied building was erected in Scott Lane and the College shifted to it ; and there Bangabasi College stands to-day. In that gaunt and lofty building, Girish Chandra's life-work stretched out over an extremely long period. He was the soul of Bangabasi College ; and Bangabasi College was his life-blood. The complex government of the College he carried on, almost to the last day of his life, with the despotic zeal of a born administrator. He taught, he lectured, he advised professors, he supervised clerks, he drew up the time-tables, he checked the accounts ; even the College clocks he would insist on regulating with his own hands. He paced the lobbies and corridors on each floor with an unfaltering precision. The spare and stately form, the austere head with the curving nose and glittering eyes, the lips drawn back and compressed—such was the vision which drove teachers and taught to be immediately engrossed in their work. When the new University regulations came into force, a Governing Body was set up to run the College, of which Lord Sinha was long the President. But, in practice, it did more of advising and deliberating than of actual governing. When Girish Chandra had once decided on a matter, that decision stood ; no Governing Body could have the nerve to challenge the decision of that towering personality.

As the years brought increasing experience, his activities stretched out from the College to its parent body, the Calcutta University itself. The Fellowship came as a matter of course to such a brilliant educationist ; and, gradually, he became an active member of the councils and boards of the University. The Senate, the Syndicate, the various Faculties, the Post-Graduate Councils, the Board of Accounts, all felt the impress of his guiding hand. Throughout the course of these activities, he preserved his stern independence of judgment ; he would not kowtow to any individual, or join any particular clique.

One of his special interests at the University was to promote the study of Botany in Bengal. Botany, during his early years, was a neglected subject, of interest to medical students only. It is due to Girish Chandra's untiring efforts that every big college in Bengal now includes Botany in its curriculum ; and the number of Botany students

is now counted by the hundred. He was the first to introduce Botany and Biology into a college, and his efforts at the University were successfully directed towards including it in all the courses of higher studies. His *Manual of Indian Botany* was written to supply the long-felt want of a popular text-book on the subject. The rising school of Botanists in Bengal gratefully looks up to him as its founder and inspirer.

Nor was it only in College and University affairs that Girish Chandra's energy and experience found scope. He gradually came to play an important part in public affairs, upon questions of public health, Bengali literature, insurance funds, and, of course, education. There could be no educational scheme but he must have a finger in the pie. He was, naturally, closely connected with the All-Bengal Teachers' Association, over whose deliberations he often presided. Health associations, insurance companies, educational institutions, scientific societies, all seemed keen on getting him to sit on their controlling bodies, all were anxious for his disinterested advice, which, as they well knew, could be had for the asking. His pen, too, had not been idle all these years. Shortly after his return from England, he had started two Agricultural monthlies—one in English, and the other in Bengali—both of which had a fair reception. And so, works on Agriculture, Hygiene, Elementary Science, English Grammar, etc., flowed in an unending stream from his pen. He also published, in Bengali, reminiscences of his life and travels in Europe; and they furnish very interesting reading. In particular, he set out to bring out primers in Bengali, elucidating the elementary principles of science. He held that scientific and vocational education is best imparted in the vernacular. Now-a-days we are hearing a lot about Bengali being made the medium of secondary education. It would be interesting to remember that the idea is no very recent one. As early as the nineties of the last century, Principal Bose was all for it; but the craze being all for English then, the idea petered out unobserved. Only, in his own College, he gave effect to it, so far as it was possible.

In all these activities, Girish Chandra remained the soul of honour and integrity. People would trust him with their all; public bodies were known to stake everything on his decisions; and they never had occasion to regret their confidence. Beneath a stern and rather forbidding exterior, he concealed a soft and generous nature. The poorer students found him an everlasting source of help and

advice. Whenever there were books to be bought, or bills to be paid, or arrears to be wiped out, or University fees to be paid in, they would be found tripping along to the Principal's house, hope rising in their hearts; and if the cases were found deserving, hope was not dashed down. Regularity of habits, also, Girish Chandra maintained to the last of his days. He was regular in his daily routine and precise in his hours of work, his meals, his exercise, his repose. One habit, in particular, he always stuck to. Every evening, unless it was actually raining, he would be driven to an hour's outing on the Maidan. During his last fatal illness, he told one of the attending doctors that, if they only allowed him his evening stroll, all would be well with him again. And the Doctor could only agree: such a patient, he well knew, should always be carefully humoured.

As the busy years glided by, a multitude of new domestic interests cropped up round him. With the marriage of his children, the family circle went on widening; grandchildren and great-grandchildren began to appear. He took a particular interest in these kiddies, to whom he showed an indulgence which their parents had seldom enjoyed. He tasted to the full both the joys and pangs of family affection. And, as old age furtively approached, it laid a gentle hold upon Girish Chandra. The grey hair whitened; the ascetic face grew more austere; the spare frame turned thinner. But the activities of this extraordinary figure showed no signs of slackening. Meetings, lectures, articles, letters, auditing—such things continued to occupy his time. It was only after he had passed on to the wrong side of seventy-five that a dangerous illness in 1929 compelled him, against his will, to give up some of his routine work. The University began to miss his helping hand, the public saw him on fewer occasions, and his lectures at the College had to stop. But his other activities went on as before. In 1934 he retired from the Principalship of the College and his youngest son stepped into his shoes. But as Rector of Bangabasi College, he continued to direct with absolute efficiency the complex government of his beloved College to the last month of his earthly existence. At eighty-five years of age, the thin, emaciated, but proudly erect figure could still be seen doing the daily round of corridors and lecture-halls; and four flights of stairs could hold no terrors for him. The teachers and the taught were inspired with a singular confidence: so long as that venerable figure passed and repassed, they felt, all would be well.

Ultimately, as was fitting, it was his zeal for College affairs which brought about the inevitable end. And, even when death came, it had to approach cautiously, struggling step by step with that bold and tenacious spirit. Towards the end of last November, a little boil made its appearance on the nape of his neck. It was very painful, but otherwise it caused little anxiety. And he *would* insist on attending a meeting of the Governing Body. He came in from the meeting feeling very ill; from next morning he had to take his bed; and, in course of three or four days, the simple boil had developed into a malignant carbuncle. The gravity of the case was realised; and the doctors left no stone unturned to burst the carbuncle. In the end it did burst; but the long struggle had left its mark: the vitality was sapped. The doctors began to shake their heads; but still the vein of iron held firm. At last, New Year's Day—the day on which, by an irony of fate, Bangabasi School was to begin a new phase of its existence in a modern building—saw the beginning of the end. A little after mid-day, the heart and pulse were felt to be definitely failing; and only then did the last, lingering, despairing optimism of those around him break down. They realised that it was now a question of hours; and, as the gloom of a winter's night settled like a pall over the house, the question of hours was reduced to one of mere minutes. The last scene will never be forgotten by those that witnessed it. The venerable educationist, his distracted lady clasping his hand, lay gasping on the bed. Round the bedside, clustered in a circle, stood or kneeled the daughters, the grand-daughters and the daughters-in-law, gallantly checking the swelling tears to chant the sacred *Hari-nama* in broken chorus. On the floor, with heads bent and lips moving in silent prayer, sat the sons and grandsons, listening to the family priests reading out the relevant chapters from the Gita. Outside, on the verandahs and passages, and filtering out to the stairs and the courtyard below, stood huddled groups of relatives, friends, colleagues and menials, gathered from all over Calcutta to pay their last respects to the departing educationist. The end was not long in coming. Soon after the clock had struck nine, there was a last convulsive shudder, a final gasp, and, amid the heart-rending wails of the stricken family, the soul of Girish Chandra passed out on its last journey.

MELPOMENE IN ENGLAND : A STUDY OF GILBERT MURRAY'S *ANDROMACHE*

RABINDRA KUMAR DASGUPTA, M.A.
Calcutta University

WHILE appreciating the translation of Mateo Aleman's *Spanish Rogue* Ben Jonson says :—

“ Such books, deserve translators of like coate
As was the genius wherewith they were wrote.”

Prof. Gilbert Murray who has given us the truest and at the same time the most poetic translations of the Greek tragedies may be said to have something in him which enables the 20th century scholar to identify himself with the ancient dramatists. Indeed, the inspiration wherewith he has rendered the tragic dramas of the Greeks seems to suggest almost an original intuition. The beauty of his translations is born out of a keen sense of imaginative fellowship with the original writers which again is begotten by the immensity of his appreciation and the depth of his scholarship. It is not unnatural for such a man, then, to venture beyond mere translation, and his own play *Andromache* is one of the least academic of all such plays dealing with Greek subjects. The classicism of Prof. Gilbert Murray never degenerates into mere pedantry. He is the most scholarly of all poets and the most poetic of all scholars.

“ Written in Acts, ” says Mr. Rutland in his book on Swinburne, “ and with no chorus, it does not claim to be what is generally understood by drama on the classic model.” But a serious perusal of the play would make it obvious that no discussion on the English tragedies on Attic lines can be complete without a consideration of this unique tragedy. It is just because the tragedy is not outwardly Greek in structure and is more modern than ancient in spirit that it deserves notice. The play comes from the pen of one who is supposed to know more about the form and spirit of the Greek tragedy than the average English imitators. Secondly, the author himself in his prefatory letter addressed to Mr. William Archer claims for it “ a nearer approach to my conception of the real Greece,

the Greece of history, and even, dare I say it, of anthropology." Thirdly, and what is most important, a study of this play would involve a comparative study of the French classical drama and the English imitations of Greek tragedy, which study again would help us to form our opinion on the problem of literary imitations.

Written in 1900, the play was, possibly in the same year, produced by the Stage Society. The play is indeed an interesting production, and as the author himself says in his preface, was liked by Tolstoy. "It was the right sort of thing and so few books now were," wrote the Russian author. Mr. Murray, however, suspects that it is perhaps the "doctrinal rather the artistic merits of the play that had won the great master's approval."

Before attempting critical analysis, let us look into the scheme and the subject matter of the play. The entire action takes place in Phthia, in the first Act on the coast, in the second in the hall of Pyrrhus' castle and in the third again on the coast. The unity of time is strictly observed in that the action begins with the landing of Orestes in Phthia a little before the dawn and ends with the murder of Pyrrhus at night. Orestes leaves Pylades and his men behind him and reaches the altar of Thetis where he meets the Priest and Alcimedon to none of whom does he reveal his identity. From the Priest he learns everything about the house of Pyrrhus, about Andromache and Hermione. In the mean time he offers his golden chain to Thetis at which the Priest is greatly surprised. Next follows a quarrel between Orestes and Alcimedon almost resulting in a duel which, however, is ultimately averted. The return of Pyrrhus and Molossus from hunting constitutes another interesting episode which shows the character of Andromache, her love of peace and utter dislike for bloodshed. Andromache begs Pyrrhus to ask Molossus to make atonement for his killing a herdboy. But Pyrrhus is adamant. He says that it would be a cowardice to condescend to expiate for deeds which are essentially heroic. But he does not apparently disregard her entreaties and at length concedes so much as to allow atonement, if their son would agree, perhaps knowing well that Molossus will never give his consent. In the second Act we see Andromache and Molossus speaking with each other about the hunt. The mother advises her son to be merciful and kind and the son begs his mother not to compel him to atone. After the entrance of Orestes and Alcimedon begins a dialogue about the establishment of peace and the importance of

suffering. But talk on peace is followed by a rather violent episode when Orestes, in course of a song, tilts at the shameful behaviour of Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus is enraged and threatens to kill him. Orestes reveals his identity and is ultimately saved by Hermione who swears that he is not really Orestes. The third Act shows the murder of Pyrrhus by the followers of Orestes. And the play ends when Hermione stabs Andromache, and Orestes, Molossus and Alcimedon become lovers of peace.

From the above analysis it is evident that though the play is not definitely modelled on the Greek lines, the construction is full of classical elements and has more claim to be called classic than the so-called classic dramas of France. In his letter to Mr. Archer, Prof. Murray says that what he aims at is to write "a simple historical play, with as little convention as possible." It is true that the play has apparently no convention, at least no Greek convention. It has no prologue, no chorus and is devoid of what is most conventional—Deus ex machina. But a close study of the play will reveal that although it is devoid of these three important conventions, the play, so far as structure is concerned, is more Greek than the plays of Alexandre Hardy, Corneille and Racine. Prof. Gilbert Murray, although he is a great lover of Greek tragedy, has never been blind to the merits of other literatures. He is not one of those classicists who would hold that tragedy died with the disappearance of the Ancient Greek civilisation and that even Shakespeare could not revive it. "I do not for a moment mean," he says in his essay on "What English Poetry may still learn from Greek" (1911), "to hold up Greek literature as a model for all others to follow. Every great literature has something to teach the others. If even, in some different life, it were my privilege to address an audience of ancient Greeks, there is nothing I should like better than to suggest to them some qualities which Greek literature might learn from English." But Prof. Murray would never deny that Greek tragedy has certain intrinsic virtue of its own; what he objects to is our confusing its accidental elements with the essential. The extreme liberalism of the sentences I have quoted above may be partly due to the fact that they were uttered before a meeting of the English Association. In his "Euripides and his Age" he writes, "Books that are still read with delight after two thousand years are certainly, in some sense, models to imitate." These views, when read superficially, would seem to be rather contradictory. But on closer

analysis it would be found that Prof. Murray is not really inconsistent. Does he not warn us against confusing the essential with the accidental elements of Greek tragedy? To him it is not the convention itself but the purpose which that convention serves is what should attract our notice in a Greek tragedy. For example he never lays any undue stress on the unities but always directs our notice to what he calls "unity of effect and unity of atmosphere." After we had considered these points it would be clear why Prof. Murray in his *Andromache* is not strictly classical and why, though he is not so, there are still almost all the elements of a classical structure. Instead of a prologue we have that artistically contrived dialogue between Crestes and Pylades, and that between Orestes and the Priest which give us all the necessary information for the understanding of the play. It may be argued that any English tragedy, even the most romantic of the Elizabethan tragedies, gives information through dialogue. This criticism, I think, is idle. The Romantic tragedy concerns itself with the whole course of events stretching over a long period of time, whereas Greek tragedy selects the crisis, that small period of tension when the accumulated actions tend to bring about the catastrophe. There is that marked difference between dramatic principle and Prof. Murray is strictly classical in that sense.

As regards chorus, its absence is compensated for by the general poetic tone of the play; one of the functions of the chorus is to lend tragedy its musical note and *Andromache* does not lack in songfulness. The songs which Orestes sing in the hall of Pyrrhus are beautiful:—

Lord of Man's hope, whom no man worshippeth;
Heart of his fears, and burthen of his breath;
Queller of hate and love, hear; O Most strong,
Most wrathful and unrighteous, hear, O Death!

or again:—

O Light and shadow of all things that be;
O Beauty, wild with wreckage like the sea,
Say who shall win thee, thou without a name?
O Helen, Helen, who shall die for thee?

Of these two passages Mr. Rutland says that they are hardly Greek. About the Greekness of the spirit of the play we shall speak later. Here we are concerned with the musical grandeur of Greek tragedy, and

certainly these songs have a great musical value. Again the universal note of the choric utterances are substituted for by the speeches of the heroine herself. Her passionate talks on peace has something definitely choric in them:—

“ You and I have had more grief than others. We have seen beyond the glory of battle, beyond the joy of the conquerer and the shame of the conquered ”

Or

“ Make peace swiftly before you die my son, lest there be no peace for ever and ever.”

Of the spirit of such sayings it may be said that they are more modern than ancient. But that they have a great choric effect there is hardly any doubt. Does not the second passage I have quoted resemble, at least when we read it, as something relating the immediate action the following passage put into the mouths of the chorus in Euripides' play of the same name ?—

.....for distress, to all mankind
Though strangers must seem piteous: but on thee,
O Menelaus, 'tis incumbent now
To reconcile thy daughter, and his captive,
That she may for her sorrow be released.

It is true that Andromache speaks of a greater peace on earth and the chorus in Euripides only of the household peace. But there is scarcely any dissimilarity in essential function. And again is not Andromache all the more universal for that ? The Priest's saying that “ affliction comes to the good as to the evil ” reminds us of the chorus of Sophocles.

Again:—

“ A wise man chooses peace and not war or
Shedder of blood escapes not the dread watchers ”

and other sayings have a definitely choric effect. It is true that even the romantic tragedy is often full of such casual aphorisms. Elizabethan drama specially is full of wise saws and modern instances. But what is distinctly Greek is not casual sententiousness but that perfect blending of poetry and wisdom which issues out of the moral or religious basis of the plays. The question of religion brings us to another

aspect of the play which is definitely Greek. Greek tragedy as Prof. Murray himself says in his essay on "Greek and English Tragedy" was "a religious ritual and English tragedy is primarily an entertainment." Into the propriety of this distinction we here need not probe. But it can never be gainsaid that Greek tragedy arising, as it did, from worship, was, even when it developed into maturity, full of invocations of gods and goddesses. I think that the prayers of Priest, Alcimedon, Orestes and Hermione to Thetis would remind any reader of the choric invocation of gods and goddesses in "Libation Bearers":—

"Hail Thetis ! Accept this wine and honey I bring thee at first touch of dawn. Keep thy priest in wealth and honour." (Priest.)

Or

"Hail Thetis ! I have given thee and offering of many oxen's price and many more will I give if thou hinder me not of my desires." (Orestes.)

The un Greek elements in the structure of "Andromache" are the division of the play into Acts and the presence of more than three actors at a time. Before discussing these two points let us make it clear to us that "Andromache" holds a peculiar position amongst the English tragedies on Attic lines in that it is not directly based on the model of the extant Greek plays. From what we have said already it is evident, that Prof. Murray's "Andromache" is based on those unwritten Greek tragedies which would have come into existence if the dramatic art of the ancient Greeks were allowed a longer course of development. In "Andromache" we notice a gradual surrender of crude convention to an increasing sense of a real art. The tragic dramas of the Greeks as of most countries developed out of a gradual supremacy of the dramatic over the lyric. Prof. Murray in his "Andromache" does not deny to himself any of the stage contrivances which a 20th century dramatist is privileged to take the benefit of. As the actors on the Greek stage used to wear masks, the tragic dramas of the Greeks required to be full of poetic speeches to compensate for the histrionic feats of the modern actors. Prof. Murray's stage direction such as "Orestes in meditation" or "Hermoine brooding" reminds us more of Shaw and Galsworthy than of the ancient Greeks. But Prof. Murray perhaps would say that "these are not the essential attributes of Attic tragedy but only accidental features which it is better to get over than to retain; I have followed whatever is essential in the practice of the Greek masters, and it is not the convention but the actual purpose which

that convention was made to serve is what really matters." Of the division into Acts it may be said that it is not in any sense an essential departure. A dramatist with the elaborate stage equipment of the modern age can well afford to change his scene, and it should be noticed that the action in the first and the third act takes place in the same place, the castle of Pyrrhus in the second act being not far away from the altar, where the first scene is laid. "I have tried to abolish," says Strindberg in his preface to "Miss Julia," "the division into acts. And I have done so because I have come to fear that our decreasing capacity for illusion might be unfavourably affected by intermissions during which the spectator would have time to reflect and to get away from the suggestive influence of the author hypnotist." One thinks that such fear is more natural for a dramatist of ancient Greece to whom poetry was the only means of creating illusion than to a modern writer who can count upon a stage with elaborate equipment.

About the presence of more than three actors at a time it can be said that it is not a serious transgression inasmuch as the convention of not having more than three actors in the stage did not serve any great artistic purpose of the Greek tragedians.

Perhaps the most serious departure from the Greek practice in Murray's "Andromache" is that he shows violence on the stage. The murder of Pyrrhus and Andromache is shown on the stage just as Becket in Mr. T. S. Elliot's "Murder in the Cathedral" is killed on the stage. But in the "Electra" of Euripides the murder of Clytemnestra, it may be safely said, almost takes place on the stage.

From what I have said above it is evident that Prof. Murray in writing "Andromache" has adopted the real principle of Greek construction without imposing upon himself the arduous and at the same time unprofitable task of following his master to the letter. He who acts in the spirit of his master need not be afraid of breaking his laws. It is the precision, concentration of interest and the unity of atmosphere which, to Prof. Murray, are the essential qualities of a Greek tragedy, and the structure which Prof. Murray has chosen for his drama well meets these demands. Although Prof. Gilbert Murray seems to be a disciple of French classic dramatists, and specially of Racine with whose "Andromache" Murray's play has a few features in common, we should not miss this great difference between them

that while the classicism of Racine or Corneille is derived from the Latin dramatist Seneca, Prof. Murray goes direct to the Greek masters.

Mr. Murray's "Andromache," according to Mr. Rutland, belongs to to a "category of its own, a very modern one." "Though it is laid in ancient Greece," says the critic, "with the familiar heroic names for its characters, they are presented to us not as the Greek poets presented them, but as the modern anthropologist imagines them to have been." The remark, though very sound, should be critically examined. It is true that "Andromache" is more modern than ancient; but the play is surely not without Greek elements. Andromache is perhaps not a Greek woman, at least not the kind of woman we get in the extant plays of the Greeks. She is a different woman from the Andromache of Euripides. Euripides' Andromache, though a good woman very unlike Clytemnestra, is full of pride and vigour and shows an indomitable will to live with her son and is always ready with her argument to prove her innocence and honesty. But the Andromache of Prof. Murray is rather mysterious character. She is a voice, a voice from heaven preaching the doctrine of peace:—

"The living have never heard me; and the dead cannot hear; but broken and dying men know the words I speak."

The play of Prof. Murray is a problem play—not as Shaw's drama but as the dramas of Euripides. Aeschylus' and Sophocles' tragedies dealt with the great moral and religious problems. But Prof. Murray's play which is more Euripidean than Sophoclean or Aeschylean is more a peace pamphlet than a religious tract. Written in 1900 when Europe was confronted with the problems of war and peace, Andromache reflects Prof. Murray's pacifist outlook. Andromache is not revengeful. When Pyrrhus is dead, she says, "If thou hast found thy sleep, O cling to it! Never wake nor stir to follow those who murdered thee." And when Pyrrhus asks Molossus to avenge, she fervently requests him not to lay any such task on him. In his "Euripides and his Age" Prof. Murray says that "Euripides was all through his life occupied with the study of revenge." It was a time as Thucydides tells us when "men tried to surpass all the record of previous times in the ingenuity of their enterprises and the enormity of these revenges." If this be true and if it is the intention of Prof. Murray to attain historical accuracy, it is evident that Andromache is not truly Greek and is full of Christian thought. But Prof. Murray would say, and would

say very rightly, that Euripides also concerned himself with problems of peace. "Suppliant Woman," in his opinion, is a peace play and his other later plays also end with a note of peace. "In his plays after 415," says he in the same book, "the emphasis has rather changed; you must expect to be wronged and revenge will do good to nobody. Seek peace and forgive one another." And the appeal of Prof. Murray's play is mainly a pacific appeal.

Of the characters in the play Mr. Rutland says, "In one respect they are centuries older than Sophocles; and in one they are of our own day." Indeed, in the play we find superstition existing side by side with rationality. Orestes is superstitiously afraid of the Eumenides. But Andromache seems to be quite a modern woman. She asks Molossus to make atonement for his sin so that Napaeans might not burn the villages in the plain and make death and famine. Aschylus would have suggested some supernatural force blighting the corns of the field. But this does not take away much from the Greekness of the play. The modern note of the play has not been incompatible with its definitely Hellenistic bend. Prof. Murray is conscious of the fact that a Greek tragedy can hardly be written again. "It may or may not be possible," he says in his essay "What English Poetry may still learn from the Greek," for men to arrive again at the oneness; it may be that it depends on the actual quality of the daily life we live, and that to the Greeks of the great age, not for long, but for a few glorious generations the daily stuff of life was really a thing of splendour. But he would not for that reason give up hope. He would do his utmost and would ask others to do their utmost to revive something of that glory which was Greek tragedy. "If so, our task in the matter of poetry," continues he, "is wider and perhaps harder than we thought but it is a task to which voices on every side are calling us." And Prof. Murray's play is an attempt to give us in English language a kind of tragedy which, though it has certain modern elements in it, is after all a very close approximation to the gorgeous tragedy of the Greeks.

Prof. Murray in his preface to the play does not say anything about his imitating the Greek tragedies. What he aims at is historical accuracy, to paint Ancient Greek life in its truest colour. He speaks of his fascination for the extraordinary variety of plot that the Greek dramatists found in the historical tradition, the force, the fire,

the depth and richness of character-play. But for that he never professes to attempt any direct imitation of the Greek dramatists. He conceives his plot independent of any actual dramatists. He conceives his plot independent of any actual dramatic precedent. It is not the dramatists of Periclean age but the dramatic possibilities of that age Prof. Murray intends to exploit. His play is an interpretation of the age and not an imitation of its dramatists. And if his drama is not strictly modelled on the Greek tragedy, it has many similarities with it both in structure and in spirit. It may be that Prof. Murray has his own conception about the Greeks, which is very different from that of the ancient Greeks. It is true that Greek drama was a reflection of Greek life, as the drama of any country is a reflection of its life. But we must not forget that the ancient drama of any country cannot be wholly realistic. Surely it is full of the moral and religious ideas of the people, their hopes and aspirations. But as the dramatists had to concern themselves with the mythological figures, their dramas could not possibly be the mirrors of the daily life of the people. Prof. Murray says that in ancient Greece the "daily stuff of life was really a thing of splendour." It may be true that those ancient men and women living at the dawn of the world felt more awe and wonder than we do in our age. But it would be a mistake to think that the grandeur and magnificence of the action of a Greek tragedy is a realistic representation of the ancient Greek life. Prof. Murray's play, as I have already said, is more a domestic tragedy than a heroic tragedy. The whole play is struck on a homely note. "Andromache," in some sense is a domestic tragedy. But Euripides who began to write perfect problem plays might also venture to write a tragedy of daily life and in fact his plays, at least some of them, are full of psychological realism. Like the plays of Euripides, "Andromache," though a realistic play, does not lack in that sense of ideal grandeur which holds us in Greek tragedy. "Had there been any great successors," says Mr. Allardyce Nicoll in his "British Drama," "to the three outstanding Greek dramatists, tragedy must have inevitably taken on other forms. The chorus would have disappeared and a more modern type of drama would have been ordered." And if Prof. Murray's play does not very closely resemble any of the extant Greek tragedies, it has something in it, both in form and in spirit, which makes us think that the Greeks were not incapable of writing such a drama.

CHARTER ACT OF 1793 AND THE OUTLINES OF BRITISH COMMERCIAL POLICY IN INDIA DURING THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS

HARI RANJAN GHOSAL, M.A., B.L.

Research Scholar in History under the Government of Bihar, Patna College.

TILL nearly the end of the eighteenth century, the trade between England and India continued to be a monopoly in the hands of the East India Company. But although, legally speaking, no British subject was entitled to a share of that trade, an exception was made in favour of the commanders and officers of ships employed in the Company's service. "By an indulgence of ancient practice," these commanders and officers of ships were permitted by the Company to occupy a certain portion of the tonnage for the purpose of exporting and importing cargoes on their own account.¹ The amount of their private trade at the Company's sales in London during the period of eight years ending with 1792-1793 was £6,069,889 including the value of the merchandise imported from China, and £4,069,889 deducting the value of the China goods.² This amount of course included the duties charged on those goods.

The Company's servants in India also were from time to time allotted a space in the Company's ships for the purpose of exporting merchandize to England. This practice grew up partly from the necessity of providing a means by which these servants might remit their fortunes to England otherwise than by the purchase of bills of exchange upon the Company in London, and partly because the Company's surplus revenues were not always sufficient to provide the whole investment ordered by the Court of Directors.³ Thus the very

¹ Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 126.

At a meeting of the Court of Directors, held on the 8th October, 1784, it was resolved that the captains and officers of ships sailing from India would be allowed to bring eight thousand pieces of piece-goods only, on paying the customs plus five p.c. duty and two p.c. for the warehouse-room, etc., to the Company, that five thousand pieces only might consist of white muslins and calicos, stitched or plain, and that all exceedings of the above descriptions would be charged twenty p.c. in addition. *Vide* Seton-Karr, *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. I, pp. 82-83.

² Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

³ In 1782 the investments from Bengal were almost entirely furnished by individuals, the Company's resources having been otherwise exhausted. This state of things occurred not infrequently. *Vide* Hamilton, *Trade Relations between England and India*, p. 147.

small amount of private trade which existed during the period preceding the Charter Act of 1793, was confined to the Company's servants' and the bulk of British resident individuals in India had no share in that trade.

The monopolistic character of the trade between England and India, however suitable to a previous time, was found incompatible with the spirit of the age when more liberal ideas of commerce were steadily gaining ground in England.⁴ Moreover, it led to serious consequences alike for the interests of the Company and of the British nation. The vast wealth that accumulated in the hands of British individuals in India and the rapid increase in the number of such individuals, "soon overflowed the usual mode of remittance through the Company" as a result of which the fortunes acquired by those individuals began to be transmitted through foreign channels.⁵ The British resident merchants in India became secret parties in the trade carried on to the continent of Europe. Various prohibitory decrees were passed against this practice but they failed to be of any effect.⁶

The volume of foreign European trade increased rapidly towards the eighties of the eighteenth century, and after the Peace of Versailles in 1763 several other nations, which had no settlements in India, began to send their merchant-vessels to this country, particularly to the Port of Calcutta.⁷ The East India Company were compelled to admit them into the British settlements because otherwise they might proceed to those of the French, Dutch, Danish or Portuguese.⁸ One immediate effect of this increase in the foreigners' share of the Indian trade was the overstocking of the market so much so that in the year 1789 European goods might be purchased in India at half their original cost.⁹

There were thus at this time two branches of commerce in India, a minor portion constituting the Company's own trade, and a major

⁴ The economic evils of trade restrictions were very forcibly set forth by Adam Smith in England and the Physiocratic school of economists in France, towards the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Vide Armitage-Smith, *The Free-Trade Movement and its Results*, pp. 28 and 31.

⁵ Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁶ *Ibid*, Seton-Karr, *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. II, p. 58.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 133. The most important of these nations were the Americans. Their first ship appeared in Calcutta in 1784 and thereafter all American ships, bound for the Far East, used to call at the Port of Calcutta. The British Government far from attempting to check this trade issued orders in 1788 that America should be treated as "the most-favoured nation." (C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, pp. 358-59.)

⁸ Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁹ *Ibid*, 126.

part, called the surplus trade, which lay in the hands of foreign nations and of British subjects residing in India under the Company's license, a very large portion of which surplus trade entered into the ports of continental Europe and America.¹⁰ In renewing the Company's Charter, therefore, Parliament felt that care should be taken "that the commerce of Great Britain to the East Indies be maintained in its full vigour, neither curbed in spirit nor diverted into a foreign channel but exciting the industry of our Artisans, and Manufacturers, the confidence of our Merchants, and a liberal spirit of general commerce."¹¹

The Charter Act of 1793, while renewing the Company's privileges for another term of twenty years, enacted "that during the continuance of the said exclusive trade in the said Company..... it shall and may be lawful for any of His Majesty's subjects in any part of His Majesty's European dominions to export on their own proper risk and account, in the ships of the said Company or in any ships freighted by them from the port of London," any goods, wares or merchandizes to any part of the East Indies usually visited by the Company's ships, subject to certain restrictions, enumerated in the Act, and "that it shall and may be lawful to and for any of His Majesty's subjects in the civil service of the said Company in India or being by leave or license of the said Company or under their protection as merchants resident in India respectively, to consign and put on board the ships of the said Company or in ships freighted by them bound to Great Britain, any goods, wares or merchandise, save and except..... otherwise specially provided."¹²

The act further provided that the Company should annually provide and appropriate three thousand tons of shipping at least for the specific purposes of carrying to and bringing from the East Indies such goods as might be lawfully exported by individuals and that they should provide an additional quantity of tonnage "for the carriage of the said private trade, as the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India shall, upon any representation made to them from time to time order and direct."¹³

¹⁰ Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pulteney on the subject of the Trade between India and Europe*, pp. 15-16.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Sandeman, *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. IV, pp. 37-40. The Act of 1793 made no change in the *status quo* in respect of the China trade. The Company retained their monopoly in this respect till 1833.

¹³ *Ibid.*

As regards freight, the act laid down that the Company should charge at the rate of five pounds per ton outwards and fifteen pounds per ton homewards for all goods imported or exported in private trade and that "in times of war or preparations for war, between Great Britain or any other European power or state..... as long as such war or other circumstances shall continue, the said Company shall be entitled to charge and recover for the carriage of the said private trade additional rates of freight....."¹⁴

Section 93 of the Act required written notice on the part of any person intending to export goods to Great Britain, to be given to the Chief Secretary of the Presidency in India; and Section 103 provided that all such goods should be duly registered in the Company's books, failing which, these would be considered as having been illicitly shipped and as such liable to seizure and forfeiture.¹⁵

The Charter Act of 1793 recognized three classes of trade: first, the long-existing trade of the Company "consisting of the export of bullion and merchandize and the import of commodities"; secondly, the private trade of the commanders and officers of the Company's ships; and lastly, the so-called privilege trade of individuals who were for the first time admitted to a participation of the trading privileges of the Company. This last class of trade, for which the Company were from now on bound to provide three thousand tons of shipping, furnished a legal channel for the trade which the fortunes of British subjects in India had hitherto carried from India to the different parts of the continent of Europe.¹⁶

The main commercial purposes to be accomplished by the Act were to encourage the export of British manufacturers to India "to the utmost extent of the demands of the country," to promote the importation of raw materials from India for the benefit of the British manufacturers, to check the growth of foreign clandestine trade by affording to British resident individuals the means of remitting their

¹⁴ *Ibid.* In 1809-10, the Company charged the following rates of freight from individuals exporting or importing goods on their account:—

			Outwards			Homewards
Regular ships	...	...	£ 10-10-0	...	...	£ 32-0-0
Extra ships	...	...	£ 9-0-0	...	...	£ 27-0-0

—Sandeman, *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. IV, p. 97.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

¹⁶ Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

fortunes directly to the mother country, to promote the prosperity of India by opening new avenues of trade, and to improve the trade revenue and navigation of the United Kingdom "by making the Port of London the grand Emporium of the commerce of India."¹⁷

An examination of certain statistics relating to the sale amount of Indian goods in London would show that during the years immediately following the Charter Act, the private trade of the commanders and officers of the Company's ships experienced but little fluctuations while there were considerable importations by individuals in privilege.¹⁸ On an average of six years subsequent to the Act of 1793, five thousand tons of privilege goods were annually exported to Great Britain from the Presidency of Bengal.¹⁹ In other words the amount of goods exported by privilege trade from Bengal alone exceeded, by two thousand tons, the amount of the tonnage legally allotted for the whole of India. It is worth noticing that a considerable amount of these five thousand tons of shipping were furnished by ships built in India.²⁰

Nevertheless, although the trade between England and India increased in consequence of the facilities afforded by the Charter Act, the main objects of the legislature remained practically unfulfilled on account of the conditions and restrictions imposed in the Act. In 1800 Lord Wellesley wrote, "..... the wise policy which dictated the clauses of the Act of Parliament passed in 1793, with respect to the trade of private merchants between India and England,

¹⁷ Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pulteney*, p. 17.

¹⁸ The following is an account of the sale amount of Indian goods imported into Great Britain by the commanders and officers of ships and the private traders in privilege. (Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 128.)

Commanders and Officers.	Private traders in privilege.
1794—£441,929	... £181,710
1795—£378,868	... £469,879
1796—£458,541	... £409,787
1797—£279,812	... £678,749
1798—£298,160	... £646,747
1799—£448,068	... £881,662

¹⁹ Letter from Wellesley to Court, 30th September, 1800. (Owen, *A Selection from the Wellesley Despatches*, pp. 701-18).

²⁰ The necessity of using India-built shipping arose when in 1795 seven of the largest India-men were taken into the British Navy and when the first importation of rice from India was ordered. Twenty-seven India-built ships were taken up by the Indian governments and sent to England not only with rice but also with other goods; vide C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, p. 362; vide also Wellesley's letter to Court, 30th September, 1800, where he says that the port of Calcutta at that time contained more than 10,000 tons of shipping built in India for the conveyance of cargoes to England.

has been to a great extent frustrated by the insufficiency of the tonnage furnished from England, and by the unavoidable expense and inconvenience attending the terms and manner of its provisions."²¹ It was but natural that the increasing demand for additional tonnage by the private trader could not be fully supplied owing to the war-time scarcity of British shipping. But the high rates of freight charged by the Company made it difficult for him to utilize even the available quantity of tonnage."²² "He can neither be secure," Wellesley rightly remarked, "of the requisite quantity of tonnage, nor of the time of despatching his goods from India, nor of the ship on which they may be laden nor of the mode in which they may be distributed, and his trade is burdened with an expensive rate of freight, which deprives him of all reasonable expectation of profit."²³

Being repeatedly sounded on the matter, the Court of Directors issued their orders of the 25th May, 1798, which sought to protect the merchants, not being proprietors of ships, against any undue enhancement of the rates of freight by the proprietors of ships and to prevent persons who combined the capacities of merchants and proprietors of ships from securing any greater advantages in the matter of trade than those who did not combine both the capacities.²⁴ But these orders pleased neither the merchants for whose benefits they were intended nor the owners of ships.²⁵

How to remedy the evils arising from excessive freight and insufficient tonnage, became one of the pressing problems that confronted Wellesley on his arrival in India. In 1798, in consequence of an almost total failure of the tonnage to be supplied by the Company for the private trade of individuals, and of the representations made by the free merchants of Calcutta to that effect, the Governor-General felt convinced that a remedy must be provided. Accordingly, by a regulation of the 5th October of that year, he allowed, at his own responsibility, the free merchants of Calcutta and others to export directly to Great

²¹ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800; *vide* also letter from Dundas to Wellesley, 18th March, 1799. (Owen, *A Selection from Wellesley Despatches*, pp. 696-701).

²² The Company charged high rates of freight from private merchants because they themselves had to pay high rates for their tonnage and increased war-time rates of insurance; *vide* C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, p. 361.

²³ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800; *vide* also Wellesley's "Memorandum on Bengal." (Owen, *A Selection from the Wellington Despatches*, pp. 491-95).

²⁴ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Britain, in India-built ships, "as much of the surplus trade of Bengal as their capital could embrace, with the privilege of bringing back on these vessels cargoes, the growth and produce of Great Britain, under certain stipulations protective of the Company's monopoly."²⁶ These vessels were subject to all those restrictions to which the Company's own vessels were liable.²⁷

A precise explanation of the motives which induced Wellesley to adopt this plan is contained in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 30th September, 1800. "The employment of ships built in India," he wrote, "between this port and that of London is no longer merely a question of expediency or of liberal commercial policy; the deficiency of the tonnage expected from Europe reduces me to the absolute necessity of providing a large proportion of Indian tonnage for the service of the present season in order to secure the conveyance of the heavy articles of your investment and to fulfil your legal obligations."²⁸ He was convinced that the interests, both of the Company and of India, demanded that encouragement be given to the development of private trade, and he believed that the plan which he had adopted in October, 1798, was best calculated to promote those interests by permanently establishing a systematic intercourse between India and England.

But the object of the Governor-General was not merely to promote the interests of the Company and of India. He was fully sensible of the economic losses arising to Great Britain from the preponderance of the foreigners' share in the overseas trade of this country. "A large proportion of this valuable trade," he observed, "is already in the possession of foreign nations and unless means be adopted for depriving those nations of the undue share which they have obtained in that trade, the most serious consequences are to be apprehended to the combined interests of the English East India Company and of the British nation."²⁹ He clearly saw that the Company's sales in England would certainly be affected by the quantity of Indian goods passing into the markets of Europe through the channel of the foreign trade

²⁶ *Ibid*; Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pulteney*, pp. 27-28.

²⁷ *Ibid*

²⁸ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800. In pursuance of this policy, the Governor-General in Council empowered the Board of Trade in Calcutta to hire ships on behalf of the Company and re-let them to the proprietors of ships on the terms of the advertisement published in October, 1798; *vide* Board of Trade (Commercial) Proceedings, 2nd December, 1800; *vide* also W. H. Hutton, *Wellesley (Rulers of India)*, p. 153.

²⁹ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800.

and that the profits of the private merchants would be proportionately diminished.³⁰

Besides these economic considerations, there was a political motive too which influenced the policy of the Governor-General. An imperialist to the core, Wellesley was fully alive to the possible danger arising from the increase of foreign influence in India at a time when the French armies under Napoleon were carrying everything before them on the continents of Europe and Africa. And his plan of the 5th October, 1798, was one of the several measures which he adopted to avert that danger. "..... the same mistaken policy," he wrote, "has invited from Europe and America adventurers of every description, and by the number and activity of these foreign agents, has menaced the foundations of your commercial and political interests throughout every part of Asia and even within your own dominions."³¹ "In proportion to the increased resort of foreign ships to our ports in India," he further observed, "foreign intrigue will find a more ready channel of admission."³² It was precisely this foreign intrigue and foreign influence which the Governor-General was ever anxious to counteract.

The effects of this policy were undoubtedly beneficial to the interests of the private trader. He could obtain a considerable reduction in the rate of freight and was able to settle his engagements with the ship-owner before the purchase of goods.³³ He could moreover purchase such goods as might be profitably invested under the existing rates of freight and "regulate every consignment and draft according to the quantity of the tonnage engaged, to the period of despatching the goods from India, and to that of their expected arrival in India."³⁴ The proprietors of ships also were benefited because they were enabled to load their ships in an advantageous and expeditious manner and to despatch them at the favourable periods of the year.³⁵

Upon the foreign trade, the plan of Wellesley produced the desired immediate effects. It gave a serious blow not only to the clandestine but also to the *bona-fide* legal trade of foreigners "by compelling most of their vessels to leave Calcutta in ballast."³⁶ On the other hand the commercial intercourse between England and India was enlarged. In the year 1799-1800 twenty India-built ships exported from London

³⁰ *Ibid.*³¹ *Ibid.*³² *Ibid.*³³ *Ibid.*³⁴ *Ibid.*³⁵ *Ibid.*³⁶ *Dalrymple's, A Letter to Sir William Pulteney, p. 29.*

goods to the value of £613,247 and wines from Madeira to the value of £116,505.³⁷ The exports from India also swelled to a considerable extent, especially the raw materials which were so much wanted by the British manufacturer. In 1799-1800, twelve Indian ships carried no less than 27,641 bales of cotton to England from Bombay and Bengal.³⁸ It is worthy of note that the raw cotton exported from Bengal was a new export created by the enterprize of the British resident merchants in India.³⁹

The increase of private trade at this period was, however, due to several other factors besides the admission of India-built shipping. In 1799 Parliament passed the Warehousing Act by which several goods, named in the Act, were allowed to be warehoused, for the purpose of exportation at some future time, on payment of certain small duties.⁴⁰ This Act was passed, as the Court of Directors put it in one of their letters to the Bengal Government, with the object of "rendering this country (Great Britain) as much as possible the Grand Emporium of Indian Commerce."⁴¹ As a direct consequence of the Act, the importations of Indian goods into London reached their maximum during the years 1800-1803. On the other hand, the rapid increase of the European civil and military population all over India tended to create an additional demand for British commodities and thus brought about an increased exportation of British manufactured goods to this country.⁴²

It should be noted that the Court of Directors looked upon the growth of this private trade with disfavour because in it they saw another important stage in that process of development by which the East India Company were ultimately to give up their trading activities. The speediness and regularity with which the India-built merchant

³⁷ *Ibid.* From about this time the Madeira wine continued to be a valuable export to India, being in great demand with the European population. It formed an important subject of the Court of Directors' correspondence with the Governor-General in Council.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Wellesley's policy indirectly fostered ship-building in India. In course of a few years after 1798, a number of ships were constructed in addition to those that had been already built up. [Beard of Trade (Commercial) Proceedings, 9th May, 1801]. But the industry did not last long. For the causes of the ultimate failure of India-built shipping to maintain its position, vide C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, pp. 363-65.

³⁹ Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pulteney*, p. 29.

⁴⁰ *Debates at the East India House during the Negotiations for a Renewal of the East India Company's Charter (1813)*, Vol. I, p. 246; Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁴¹ Extract from a Commercial General letter to Bengal, 7th May, 1800.

⁴² The sale amount of private goods imported from India including the importations of the commanders and officers of ships reached the maximum of £3,042,633 in 1803 after which it experienced a continual falling off for some years; vide Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁴³ *Debates at the East India House*, pp. 247-48.

vessels performed their voyages alarmed the Court and they asserted that the plan of Wellesley was "calculated in its ultimate effect to involve the Company in ruin and convulse the interests of the nation at large."⁴⁴

Little reflection is needed, however, to show that neither Parliament nor Lord Wellesley sought to promote the cause of private trade at the expense of the Company's interests. While anxious to check the growth of foreign trade and foreign influence in India, Wellesley was equally eager to maintain the ancient rights of the Company and was wholly opposed to the idea of opening the East India trade altogether. "It would be equally unjust and impolitic," he wrote, "to extend any facility to the trade of the British merchants in India by sacrificing or hazarding the Company's rights and privileges, by injuring its commercial interests, by admitting an indiscriminate and unrestrained commercial intercourse between England and India or by departing from any of the fundamental principles of policy, which now govern the British establishments in India."⁴⁵

The period from 1793 to 1813, which saw a partial opening of the East India commerce, saw also the imposition of high tariff duties upon East India produce. The increased expenditure of war created a demand for fresh revenue, and from 1797 a continual series of import duties had to be passed by the British Parliament. In that year the consolidated duties of 1787 were enlarged by an addition of ten per cent. and next year a small convoy duty was imposed on all imports to defray the expenses of protecting the merchant vessels at sea.⁴⁶ The duty on plain muslins and calicos, flowered and stitched, rose, by successive impositions from 18 per cent. *ad valorem* before 1797 to more than 44 per cent. in 1813, while the duty on plain white calicos and dimities which had been about 40 per cent *ad valorem* before 1797 rose to more than 85 per cent. in 1813.⁴⁷ The duty charged on other articles need not be considered here. It is worthwhile to note that high tariff, together with the increase of private trade during the period, was sufficient to affect the principal manufactures of thi

⁴⁴ Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pitt*, p. 40. The London shipbuilders also remonstrated against the practice of employing India built ships and demanded its prohibition. (Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. III, p. 253.)

⁴⁵ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800.

⁴⁶ Hamilton, *Trade Relations between England and India*, p. 164.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 255-56.

country. These duties were no doubt slightly lowered in 1814. But that did not improve matters, because by that time the trade of India had been completely thrown open, and the Indian markets had begun to be flooded with the machine-made products of Manchester.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ In 1814 the duty on plain muslins and muslins or calicos, flowered or stitched, was reduced to £37-10-0 per cent. and that on plain white calicos was fixed at £67-10-0 per cent, *vide* Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-56. For an account of the importation of British cotton manufactures into Bengal after 1813, *vide* my article "Cotton Industry in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during the Early Nineteenth Century," in the *Journal of Indian History*, August, 1939, pp. 195-214.

THE PEOPLE AND CULTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

THE Philippine Islands were discovered by the famous Portuguese navigator Magellan who rounded the whole of South America, passed (28th November, 1520) through the Strait named after him and after three months of most trying voyage across the Pacific reached Micronesia. He landed in the Philippines on the 16th of March, 1521, and tried to conquer the Islands by diplomatic alliances with the rival factions till he was killed while fighting a native chief of Mactan (near Cebu). Sixty years after, in 1581, the Spanish general Legaspi managed to reconquer the Islands which came to bear the name of the Spanish king and, for over three centuries, the Spanish language and culture dominated over the indigenous Malayan language and culture of the islands. In 1898, with the termination of war between Spain and U.S.A., the Filipinos came to be American subjects and English language began to replace Spanish.

Amidst all these political and cultural vicissitudes we must try to remember that the Filipinos are Asiatics and that their history is intimately connected with that of the mainland of Asia with which the Philippines were connected by land (like England with the Continent) towards the end of the Old Stone Age, some 25,000 years ago (*vide* Keesing: "Who are the Filipinos?"—*Mid-Pacific Magazine*, January-March, 1936). Prof. Felix M. Keesing through many of his valuable contributions has thrown light on the dark problem of the Filipino origins. The earliest migrants were the Negritos, a black pigmy race which probably came across the land bridge which, later on, was engulfed by the sea and the Philippines became a floating triangle of more than 7,000 islands which came to be visited by a second race, the Indonesians. They were a tall brown-skinned people, experts in navigation, who in their canoes visited the islands towards the end of the New Stone Age (about 5000 B.C.). Some of them came from Indonesia (or modern Dutch Indies), and some from Indo-China. A few centuries before the Christian era the third race, the

Malayans, came by the way of Borneo from Java and Sumatra where, as we know, pure Hindu culture came to dominate, about the beginning of the Christian era. With Hindu culture gradually came the Sanskrit languages which still form the basis of the Tagalog, the *lingua franca* of the Philippines. The Chinese and the Arabs also came in due time adding new elements to the composite culture of the Filipino people. With the conquest of the Spaniards, the vast majority of the Filipinos were converted to Christianity and to some Occidental manners and customs; but more than a million resisted conversion and about half of them live in the southern zone known as the Moros who are Muhammadans.

A valuable paper by Mr. Alber W. Herre of the Stanford University, U.S.A., gives us important clues with regard to the "Sources of Philippine Culture" (*Mid-Pacific Magazine*, January-March, 1936). Mr. Herre opens his survey with the movement of the dwarfish Negritos or Aetas, who were food gatherers of the most primitive type who reached the Philippines by land bridge. The next were of the Indonesians, an early Caucasian brown folk who came in their canoes. They passed through Indonesia and the Sulu Archipelago to Mindanao and through Palawan and the Visaya group of islands to Luzon, and even beyond to Formosa and South Japan. These Indonesians belonged to the Neolithic Age (*circa* 10000-5000 B.C.) and brought with them rice, banana, coconut and other food plants. They were expert fishermen and builders of canoes (*barangays*) and knew a kind of rude clay-pottery. They were the pioneers in farming (*caingan*) and in raising upland rice.

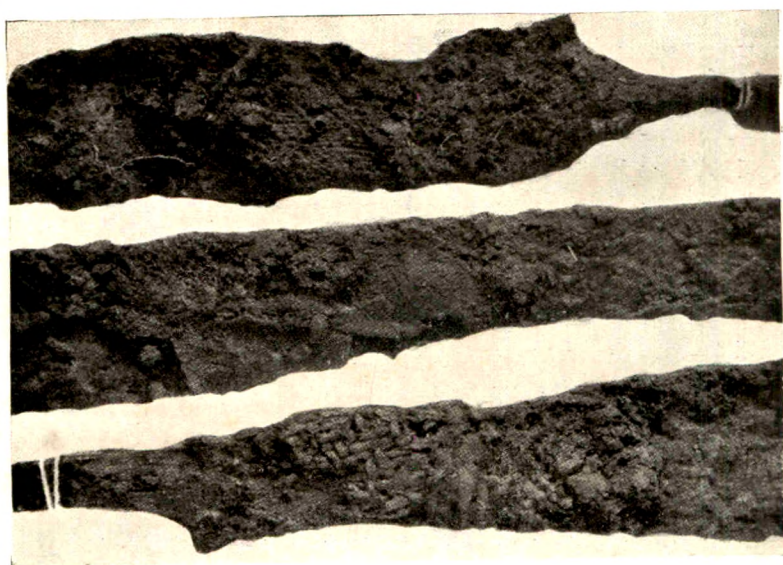
Then Mr. Herre draws our attention to the discovery of archaeological sites which mostly belong to the Early Iron age but which, according to him, are partly derived from the Chalcolithic culture of India. Human settlements have been discovered on the hills of Novalich, to the north-east of Manila and also along the north coast of Laguna de Bay. The tools and weapons of these people were made out of the obsidian cliff on the north side of the lake. A similar settlement and a quarry have been found to the west of the town of Lipa in Batangas province. Thousands of artifacts have been discovered and are being carefully preserved by Prof. H. Otley Beyer who kindly showed them to me while I was lecturing in Manila as a guest professor of the University of the Philippines. Prof. Bayer is a firm believer in the cultural relations of India and the Philippines

from the pre-historic days and Mr. Herre, following him, also made the following significant observations:—

“From these we know that they (the Indonesians) derived their primary culture from India, Mother of Nations. From the Novaliches burial urns are obtained green glass bangles exactly like those figured in the Reports of the Indian Archaeological Survey and made at least 5,000 years ago. Even in those far off days there was an interchange of commodities (glass and stone jewellery, beads, ear-plugs, ornaments, etc.) from tribe to tribe and island to island. Somehow the art of writing was also brought from India, and was known to most of the Philippine tribes until it was wantonly destroyed by the Spanish priests. Now the ancient writing survives only among the Pagan Mangyans of Mindoro and the Bataks of Palawan.”

In the first millennium B.C. fresh waves of migrants pushed back the Negritos as well as the Indonesians and many tribes like the Igorrotes moved into the hills as did the Ifugao who developed a marvellous system of rice terraces to grow lowland rice in the high mountains. This third group of invaders were a mixed race, the Mongoloid Malayas who brought with them the cultivation of lowland rice, bamboo, mango, chicken and carabao or buffalo.

Towards the beginning of the Christian era, Chinese traders and pirates began to appear and through them came iron, glazed-pottery, porcelain, huge and beautiful jars, lovely beads, silk and delicate cloth. This Chinese penetration was interrupted by the conquest of entire Malayasia by the great Malay empire of Sumatra (or the Indo-Malay empire of Sri-Vijaya) which held the Philippines for about 150 years and which was replaced by the Indo-Javanese Madjapahit empire on which Mr. Herre makes the following remarks: “The rulers of this powerful state were of Hindū blood who brought an advanced civilization to the Malayas. Brunei, Borneo became a great colony and distributing centre of Indo-Javanese culture among the remote islands to the north and the east. The Philippines became a dependency of Brunei. The Javanese obtained gold in the Agusan valley of Mindanao and mined in Masbate and Southern Mindoro. Their cultural influence was very strong in the Visayas. But with the downfall of the Madjapahit empire, the Philippines were conquered by a Chinese General when there was a tremendous increase in Chinese influence. With the death of this General the Overseas Chinese empire fell apart and Muhammadan



Pre-historic Iron-age Weapons.

traders and missionaries (14th-15th centuries A.D.) became dominant in Java and Borneo. From Brunei and Johor they converted the people of the Sulu Islands and much of Mindanao. Later they established themselves in Luzon with headquarters at Manila which was ruled by a Muhammadan Raja from Brunei. With the Muhammadans came in Arabic influences."

Those who are interested in pursuing the anthropological problems in greater details should follow the various publications of the scientific societies of the Philippines as well as of the United States of America. Twenty years after the American occupation a regular census of the Philippine Islands was compiled in 1918 and in the second volume of the census report Prof. Beyer contributed the first systematic survey of "The Non-Christian People of the Philippines" (Manila, 1921). We know therefrom that the total number of persons designated as "Non-Christians" was 821,982 or about 8 per cent. of the total population. Of this number 402,790 were Pagans, 372,464 Muhammadans and 740 Buddhists. Prof. Beyer devotes special sections to (1) the pygmies, remnants of three distinct aboriginal races—Negrito, Proto-Malaya and Australoid Ainu, (2) the Indonesians like the Ibanags, Gadlangs, Kalingas, and Apayaos, etc., and (3) the Malayas who are sub-divided into Pagan and Muhammadan groups. The native Pagans were converted to Islam subsequent to the 11th century A.D. Before that, for about 1,500 years the Filipinos were influenced by the Chinese in their economic life but their social and religious life was throughout influenced by Hindu civilization according to Prof. Beyer who points to the "Sanskrit element in Philippine languages." Hindu influence is also felt in the native mythology, folk-lore, early literature, codes of law, art and design and other symbols of the cultural, social and political life of the Philippines (*vide* Kroeber : *Peoples of the Philippines*, 1919, p. 10).

Since this valuable report of Prof. Beyer, there has been a surprising progress in the study of the palæo-ethnology and pre-historic archaeology of Asia as evidenced by three important Congresses for Pre-historic Research in the Far East—one in French Indo-China (Hanoi), another in the Philippines (Manila) and the third in British Malaya (Singapore). Before 1923 few suspected that concrete archaeological materials could be unearthed proving conclusively that long before the use of metals the Philippines were inhabited by peoples using the New Stone Age and the Old Stone Age tools. Prof. Beyer, who studied these

problems more than anybody else, gave us important landmarks of this pre-historic culture in some articles published in the *Philippine Magazine* (October, 1928 ; October, 1935). In the early Palæolithic Age when the primitive pygmies reached the islands, the Philippines were connected with Asia, at least with the larger Malaysian islands to the south. Then came from Borneo the Proto-Malay (Indonesian) people in the Mesolithic Age with stone arrows-heads and tools flaked from obsidian, flint, chert, etc., and a great number of these artifacts have been discovered in the lower foot-hills of Rizal and Bulakan provinces.

Between 6000 and 1000 B.C. the Neolithic people came in two distinct waves: the early Neolithic people (4000-3000 B.C.) used a type of stone-axe with a round or oval cross-section and they practised dry agriculture and their remains have been found in the river valleys of the hilly parts of Rizal and Bulakan. The late Neolithic people (2000-1000 B.C.) manufactured rectangular or trapezoidal stone-axes and practised a more extensive and sedentary agriculture ; turning of the soil and fertilization enabled them to use the land continuously and to build fairly big villages spreading over south-western Luzon. The best examples of their culture have been found in Batangas and most probably this late Neolithic people came directly to Luzon from Indo-China, then of bronze age culture. Thus three bronze celts have been found in Batangas, associated with typical stone implements and the shape of those stone-tools " suggests a derivation from earlier metal forms," according to Prof. Beyer.

Some of these tools were used for the manufacture and decoration of bark-cloth which has such a long and interesting history among the Polynesian and other Pacific races, right up to New Zealand. Another interesting thing which connects New Zealand with Indo-China through the Philippines was the " jade-cult " ; tools, amulets, beads and other ornaments of true jade or of a variety of green stone have been found and these artifacts and some small images suggest that these New Stone Age people from Indo-China had well-developed religious beliefs of their own.

A little before the beginning of the Christian era, the Iron Age people entered the Philippines both from the South and the North. Those who came from northern Indo-China into Luzon brought with them the rice-terrace culture, irrigation and many other arts. Those who came from the South brought the use of

betel-nut, metal-working, weaving, glass-making and pottery. When they settled in the Novaliches district of Rizal Province these early Iron Age people not only mined and smelted their own iron ore but also worked other metals, gold and copper. Earrings, bracelets, amulets, etc., were manufactured from gold. Their pottery of many shapes and sizes were excellent; the potteries are wheel-turned not hand-moulded with red tint and decorations incised or scratched. In shapes and forms they resemble the later polished or slip-covered potteries, with moulded designs, appearing in the latter transitional period. The decoration of certain pieces shows a close kinship with that found in the Iron Age graves of Japan and Korea which are also of southern origin. The most interesting art, however, was the working of artificial glass: a green variety coloured with iron and a blue glass coloured by some copper derivatives. During this age iron was still scarce and used by the wealthier people and the common people used stone-tools. These people knew the art of irrigation and intensive cultivation. Their jewellery consisted of green and blue glass bracelets, with rounded or bevelled edges and beads of such semi-precious stones as agate, carnelian, amethyst, rock-crystal and sapphire. With regard to these finds from the Iron Age site of the Novalich river valley, dating approximately from the first millennium B.C., Prof. Beyer observed ("A Pre-historic Iron Age in the Philippines"—*Philippine Magazine*, October, 1928):

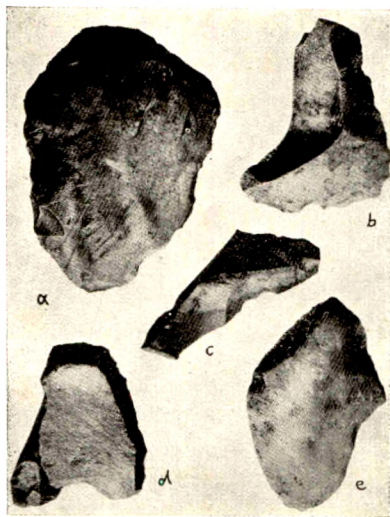
"When we learnt that all this material was not Chinese we looked around for its nearest relatives elsewhere and found them in the Indian Peninsula. All of the Iron Age material is very much like that found in Southern India, Eastern Java, Northern Borneo and in parts of the Malay Peninsula. While the pre-historic glass beads and bracelets found in India are of some fifteen different colours, only two colours of beads are found here, green and blue. All this supports my view that the motherland of this culture was India. With the coming of the Chinese, the people began to buy their jewellery from them and forgot the art of making glass, just as our native weaving industry is dying out to-day because of the importation of cheap foreign textiles."

At the end of the Iron Age several new races of people came whose remains are being discovered in the old village sites and burial grounds in Rizal province and in the central Visayan Islands. Some of them practised cremation as in India while others introduced

coffin burial and other curious customs showing contact with Chinese culture. The earliest Chinese porcelain found here is of the 10th century A.D. and porcelain objects of rich variety continue down to the 16th century. During the middle ages the Filipinos were maintaining active cultural relations with the neighbouring countries of Java and Indonesia on the one hand and with Indo-China and China of the Sung and Ming dynasties on the other. Most of the early porcelains found in the Philippines belongs to the Sung dynasty showing the green glaze known as 'celadon.' While most of this valuable pottery came from China some also came from the famous porcelain factory of Sawankolok in Siam. Thus this *Porcelain age* of Philippine history touches the well-documented periods of contact with China and terminates with the invasion of Arabic Islam and the settlement of the Moros in the 16th Century.

Nearly twenty years ago the famous American anthropologist Prof. A. L. Kroeber drew our attention to some aspects of Indo-Philippino cultural relations in his book *The Peoples of the Philippines*, (New York, 1919). As the book is not easily available today, I summarise his conclusions in his own words as far as possible. Back of Islam and Christianity lies a deeper movement, the most determinative of Philippine civilization. This is an influence or rather a set of influences emanating from India: "A mass of religious ideas, practices and names, considerable body of Sanskrit words, a system of writing, the art of metal working, a vast body of mechanical and industrial knowledge and unquestionably a much greater degree of civilization and refinement than had existed previously."

Of the pagan tribes two big groups resemble one another inspite of distance : (a) the tribes of mountainous Luzon and (b) the tribes of Mindanao unaffected either by Islam or Christianity. They aggregate about a million in number or twice as much as the number of American Indians in U.S.A. The Mindanao Pagans, probably owing to their proximity to Java and Borneo, absorbed more of Hindu civilization than the Pagans of Luzon ; yet, strangely enough, the proportion of Sanskrit words is larger in the Tagalog of the North Island. So Hindu influence must have reached Luzon also and the second largest Pagan group there is the Kalinga which meant ' enemy,' possibly of the older natives. The Tagbanua in Palawan and the Mangyan in Mindoro succeeded in preserving forms of old native alphabet of Hindu origin. It is found on incised bamboo written vertically or horizontally. But



Stone-age tools from the Philippines.



Pre-historic bead necklace.

this script has everywhere given way to the Arabic or Roman script. The last and declining phase of Hindu influence, entering from the South, could be traced as far as the Visayan Islands; for Magellan found the chiefs of Cebu with the Hindu title of Raja. The great Pagan gods were grouped into families in the Hindu manner. The chief deity of the Tagalog was Bathala derived from Sanskrit *Bhattāra* or Javanese *Batara guru*. The Sambol folk name their god *Akasi*, the Visayans have as god *Sivapa*. Corresponding to Hindu *Pasupati* we find *Abog*, god of the hunters and the Creator is styled *Pamulak Manobo*. Along with the gods came the cult of *Anito* or *Soul*, the carved wooden figure of the Spirit together with prayers and sacrifices, mantras, explanatory myths and fables, mostly of Hindu origins. The Tinggian people preserve down to this day fragments of romances, of battle, love and magic of hidden birth, intrigues and adventures, "patterned on Hindu example." Prof. Beyer is of opinion that both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* stories were partially adapted but such exalted literary pieces could not be assimilated so fully by the Filipinos as by the more gifted Javanese. We find also the Hindu belief in a monster *Rāhu* causing the eclipse; the Magindanao Moro people named the five divisions of the day as *Maheswara*, *Kala*, *Sri*, *Berma*, and *Bisnu* and Hindu astronomical names are still preserved among the Moslem population.

All the lowland Filipino dialects contain a stock of Sanskrit words. From the coast these words have spread to the interior districts specially in the South. In the north Sanskrit was imported, in recent centuries, by the intrusive Ilokano people. Sanskrit words are about twice as great in Tagalog as in the Visayan and the Mindanao dialects. This can be explained by the probable direct relations of the Tagalog zone with Indo-China and Malay-Peninsula. Sanskritic elements also penetrated Mindanao and Visayan Isles *via* Borneo and thus a comparative study between the Northern and the Southern Sanskritic elements may reveal more important evidences.

The most remarkable monograph on this subject was published, in the last quarter of the 19th century, by the great Filipino doctor-patriot Don T. H. Pardo de Tavera. He was a voluntary exile from his mother country then under the despotic Spanish regime and, being in Paris, he possibly came in personal contact with great French Sanskritists like Barth, Senart, and others. Thus he might have been induced to compile a list of those words in Tagalog which

appeared to him to have been derived from Sanskrit. His list was completed in 1884 when he was informed by Prof. F. Blumentritt that a similar list had already been compiled and published by the renowned Dutch Sanskritist H. Kern.* Dr. Tavera published his monograph in Spanish: *El Sanscrito en la Lingua Tagalog* (Paris—Imprimerie de la Faculté de Medicine, 1887). In 1889 he published his second comparative study with regard to the Numerals in Tagalog: *Consideraciones sobre el origen del Nombre de los Numeros en Tagalog*. Special importance, therefore, should be attached to the opinions expressed by Tavera who pointed out that the words that were taken into Tagalog signified “intellectual acts, moral conceptions, emotions, superstitions, names of deities, of planets, of numerals, of botany, of war, of titles and dignities, of the instruments of industry, etc.” Hence he urged that the Hindus must have been present in the Philippines and that religion and literature, industry and agriculture were at one time in the hands of the Hindus.

Tavera, who thus came to be the pioneer in this line of study, was also probably responsible for rousing the interest in these subjects in his junior contemporary Dr. Jose Rizal (born 19th June, 1861 and executed 30th December, 1896), the great patriot-martyr adored by the Filipino people. Rizal also came to be interested in the study of anthropology, of myths and legends and frequently uses the word *Indios* as a synonym for the indigenous people. It is of special interest to us to know that Rizal's uncle Don Jose Alberto was brought to a Calcutta missionary school, spending eleven years in Calcutta, thanks to the kindness of an English Naval Officer who visited the Philippines in 1820. Returning to the Philippines an ardent champion of English literature, Don Jose Alberto welcomed in 1871-72 Sir John Bowring (who was Governor of Hongkong concluding treaty with Siam in 1854), a famous translator of foreign poetry into English. Rizal as a boy had the good fortune of meeting Sir John as a guest of the family and aspired to be a polyglot like him, and when he was barely nine or ten Rizal got a prize of two *pesos* (Rs. 3) by comping

* I. Sanskritische woorden in het Tagala (1880);

II. Sanskritische woorden in het B-saya (1881)

III. Over de taal der Philippinsche Negrito's (1882).

IV. Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van't Oude Philippinsche letterschrift (1885).

Prof. Kern published all the above papers in the famous Dutch Journal *Bijdragen tot de Taal-land-en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië*. In his last paper dated 1885, Prof. Kern refers to Tavera's Spanish article “Contribucion para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos Filipinos” (published from January) and also to the article of Mon. Jaquet on “Consideration sur les Alphabets des Philippines” already published in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*.

a verse-playlet in Tagalog. His last poem composed in the cell before his execution on the order of the cruel Spanish regime lives in the heart of every man and woman of the Philippines.

Thus from the recent history of the emancipation of the Philippines to the earliest Stone Age culture, we find so many points of comparison and contact between the Filipino and the Indian people. Thanks to the courtesy and kindness of President Bocobo and Prof. H. Otley Beyer of the University of Philippines I came to have access to materials on this subject which otherwise would have remained unnoticed. I draw the attention of the public in this connection, to the latest and authoritative *resumé* on the subject contributed by Prof. Beyer to the *Encyclopædia of the Philippines* which is in course of publication since 1936. Between 1926-30, the archæological survey of the Rizal province alone has yielded about 50,000 stone artifacts. Between 1931 and 1936 the exploration work was extended to the Butanga province in the South and to Bulakan in the North. Most of the finds are, as in India, of the late Neolithic or Chalcolithic culture; only the Philippine folk "had not progressed to the stone building, city-dwelling and writing stage" as we find in the Indus valley. Before these late Neolithic agriculturists (4000-1000 B.C.) the Philippines were probably inhabited by nomadic Negrito hunters and food-gatherers or even by an earlier Australoid race that left flint tools and flake obsidian (volcanic glass) of *circa* 8000 B.C. During the first two millennia B.C. late Neolithic culture prevailed. This has been fairly demonstrated by the exploration of Governor F. G. Foth and Prof. Beyer who came to the following important conclusions:

During the first millennium B.C. a new race came to the Philippines who used cut-out or stepped butt tools showing that they knew the process of drilling and sawing. They were beaters of bark-cloth like the Hawaiians and, like the Maoris, cherished jade-tools and ornaments. Then we find a "transitional form" of tools entering with bronze articles from the mainland probably of the late Chou or early Han period and their co-types have been found near Hongkong by D. J. Finn. Thus while the Mesolithic or early Neolithic cultures entered the islands from the South (Indonesia) the late Neolithic culture came from Indo-China or South China. The Filipino "stepped" adzes came to be the prototype of all Polynesian adzes for we find them in Indonesia whence they migrated eastwards to all the Pacific islands from New Zealand to Hawaii. The New

Zealand forms resemble closely those of Batanga and South Philippines. The Hawaiian adzes, however, show some local modifications.

Chronological indications must necessarily be of a provisional character. But there is little doubt today in the assumption that the Indonesian ancestors of the modern Polynesians must have passed through the Philippines which "stand at the cross-roads of two great highways of Stone Age migrations, one running North and South from the Dutch East Indies to Japan, and the other, East and West, from Indo-China to Polynesia."

Archæological research in the Philippines is still in its infancy and we hope that under the enlightened patronage of President Quezon more and more important treasures would be discovered and scientifically displayed in the projected National Museum of the Philippines. But, even with the modest data at our disposal, we may say that the Filipino civilisation is one of the most valuable links connecting the history of cultural migrations from the Indian Ocean on the one hand to the vast Pacific on the other.

AN APPROACH TO MODERN ORIYA LITERATURE

PRIYARANJAN SEN, M.A.

Calcutta University.

THE influence of Western thought and literature on Modern India has been a prominent factor in the development of the Indian mind at the present era. It has considerably affected all the avenues of life, —art and literature, economic conditions and moral sense, political aspirations and religious outlook, and it is to be noticed in those who are in the vanguard of India's progress. This permeation of the current of Indian thought by Western ideas is more or less an admitted fact ; any one who has carefully watched the growth and development of the Indian mind has been struck by the interesting nature of such study, though it must be said at the same time that very few have come forward to work out the results of the influence in any particular direction. The vernacular literatures, when 'examined, will show marks of this influence ; but the workers have been very few in number.

It is true that as early as 1885, Barada Charan Mitra had contributed a paper to the *Calcutta Review* on the *Influence of English Literature on Bengali* ; and that P. N. Basu dealt in a general sort of way with this question in his *Hindu Civilisation under British Rule*. Dr. Sayyad Abdul Latif, a Professor in the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan, wrote a book on the *Influence of English on Urdu Literature*, which had been the subject of his thesis for the Ph.D. Degree of the London University. The Calcutta University has already published two works treating of the Western influence in its operation on Bengali Literature in general and Bengali Novel in particular. Dr. Jayantakumar Dasgupta, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), has likewise contributed to the discussion in articles published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (London) and the *Calcutta Review*. Professor H. M. Dasgupta, M.A. of D. A. V. College, Jullundur, Punjab, has published a volume on English Romantic Poetry and its influence on Bengali literature. But the subject has not yet been

treated with the earnestness which it demands, with the fulness which it deserves and with the comprehension which it may justify. Here we have a unique spectacle of an alien people influencing millions of our fellow-beings at a distance of thousands of miles and across land and sea, desert and hill, inheritors of different civilisations ; though we may try to link them together by speaking of the essential unity of the human race, or tracing them to the same Indo-Aryan stock of people, the divergences are certainly no less remarkable than the points of agreement.

An approach to modern Oriya Literature is bound to take cognizance of the extent of this Western influence in the literature. Orissa is a curious museum of Indian civilisation ; here have met varieties of human experience, of cultural traits, of peculiarities in custom and practice, and, what is more to the point, the geography of the country has helped to preserve the different stages of the varying cultures more or less intact. The pertinent scope of our enquiry is how far this province, which has been subjected to various influences in the past* and which may have influenced distant regions in the Far East in no insignificant manner, has been able to assimilate Western influence, so far as such assimilation may be traced in literature.

A survey of Modern Oriya literature should then deal, firstly, with the English conquest of Orissa and the spread of Western culture in the province ; secondly, with the results of this interplay of the two cultures in the different forms of literature—prose, poetry and drama ; and thirdly, wind up the whole discussion with (i) a summary of the results of our investigation and (ii) an attempt to forecast the future progress of the literature, to present to view the broad lines in which it may be expected to develop.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The cultural influence of the West in India was preceded by the material. Before Europe, or for that matter England, could impress its thoughts and ideas on the Oriental mind to any purpose, it had got

* "In my opinion the people of Kalinga, who have been proved to be the pioneer colonists of India, Indonesia and Oceania, are probably the very same people whom the modern barbarians of the Pacific and Indian Oceans regard with awe and wonder as people from the sky who civilized them and taught them the rudiments of culture."—R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Ch. VII (concluding sentence). I am afraid this is more or less a speculative statement.

the vast millions of the Indian people well nigh under subjection. India might have had contacts with Greece and Italy and other countries of Europe, even prior to the invasion of India by Alexander ; but those contacts were more or less superficial, and related merely to matters of trade, they did not go deeper than the skin and the effect did not last long, though the mutual intercourse must have been conducive at least to a good basis for self-knowledge. The landing of Vasco da Gama on the western coast is more relevant for our present purpose, as this discovery of a route to the country of the fabled wealth, India, made it possible for enterprising Westerners to come over from Europe without the intervention of the Arabs and the Persians, the Venetians and the Geonese, and established a direct line of communication between India and the western countries of Europe, specially those bordering on the Atlantic. Portuguese success in this work of exploration is worthy of being called an achievement ; it served as a prelude to the formation of companies of merchants in England, France, Holland and Denmark, and these companies were more or less helped in their working up the opportunities accorded to them by this knowledge through the agencies of their respective Governments.

The Portuguese traders entered Orissa in 1514 and formed a settlement first of all at Pipili on the Subarnarekha, for which they had obtained the necessary permission from the ruling chief, Prataprudra Deo. This Pipili it is not possible to trace now and must not be confused with the prosperous and prevailingly Christian settlement of Pipili near Gop in the District of Puri and situated *en route* to Konarak.

The English East India Company's first settlements in India were Surat and Massulipattam, and the finer cloths woven by Orissa were sent to the latter place by the sea-coast. It may be recalled that in the Artha-shastra of Kautilya its economic importance for production of cotton-fabric of a special kind is stressed, whence the Tamil word *Kilingam* in the sense of cotton cloth.*

The commodities sent by the Company to its factories attracted a good deal of notice and Captain Cartwright, with eight merchants and

* Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, *Orissa*, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. VIII, Part I.

In passing it may be remarked on the authority of an old note on the subject republished in the *Bangabasi* of the year 1342 B.S., Shraavan, that the "Santipur Cloth," so well-known even in Modern Bengal, for its beautiful borders and texture, owes much to a pioneer of Santipur, Nadia (Bengal), who learnt the art from his friends in Orissa. There are many weaver families from Bengal settled in the district round Jaipur, Cuttack.

many valuable offerings, sailed in the *Swan* to Harishpur, a trading centre at the mouth of the Patua. The Fort of St. George had not yet been formally and finally secured, and it was early in 1633 that the party, after a free fight between the Portuguese and the newcomers in which the English were helped by the Raja of Harishpur, went up the river as far as Fort Bārabāti, the seat of the court of Mukunda Deo, the last of the Orissan kings in the real sense of the term.

The leader of the party had to pay homage and observe due ceremony by kissing the feet * of the ruling Moghul, Viceroy Aga Mahommad Zaman, a native of Persia, who, pleased with the valuable presents in gold, silver and spices offered by the Englishmen, granted them permission for trade which they had requested, though the Portuguese were busy poisoning the minds of the local Governors. The result of the negotiations was that Hariharpur in Cuttack, now known as Jagatsinghpur, 25 miles away from the town, and two other trading centres in the District of Balasore were given to the English merchants when in 1642 the port of Balasore had been closed by the silting of the river. The newcomers evidently had an easy time of it at first, as they put up fresh centres at Puri, at Pipili on the Subarnarekha † and at Hijli in Midnapore. France, Holland and Denmark followed these enterprises by setting up their own *kuthis* at Balasore, but the companies from Holland and Denmark soon left off, and their sites were ultimately taken over by the English in 1825 and 1846 respectively, while the French retained their portion. The site of the French *kuthi* is to be seen at Balasore even at the present day. It extends over 38 acres in area; and there are ruins of some pillars circumscribing about 1 acre in extent. During the last Census operations in 1931, the houses in French Balasore were counted, not without some objection from the local residents; but they were tactfully handled and the enumeration showed the population of French Balasore to consist of about 200 souls. The land situated on both sides the Bura Balang had been previously leased out to a Bengali *izārādār* resident in British Balasore, but it is understood that the British Government is

* A. Wight, *Early English Adventurers in the East* (Andrew Melrose & Ltd., London, 1914), p. 275.

† Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, p. 91.

The E. I. Co. had a factory at Pipili in Orissa, during 1624-42, and started another at Hooghly in 1640 for better trade with Bengal. [Jute manufacture was begun in Orissa in 1864, and next year the Khandmahals were annexed from the State of Baud. See O'Malley, pp. 328 ff.; also, *The Conquest and Settlement of Orissa*, pp. 315-28.]

now the *izārādār* or lessee. The ruins are eloquent reminiscences of the potential power of the French in the country two hundred years ago.

The Portuguese put up a strenuous opposition against English influence in Orissa and Portuguese pirates frequently waylaid English merchandise on the Orissan coast. An armed boat from Holland came and bombarded the ports on the coast and ravaged them. Birdwood (p. 190) quotes a list of Dutch settlements and agencies submitted to the States General, on 22nd October, 1664—a factory was maintained in Orissa for rice and other provisions supplied to Ceylon. Over and above these troubles, malaria exacted its toll. All these factors combined to make the English leave their other trading settlements and concentrate on Balasore. The fine cloths of Balasore were very much in demand, and the industry was a paying one, even though the sale price was heavily taxed, at so much as 32 p.c.*

Anyway, the *kuthi* at Balasore was being improved, as I have already said. Up to 1685 the English bore patiently all sorts of damage and opposition, but from that year they resolved to protest by arms. 1685-90 was a period during which English trade did not flourish. Traders fled to Bengal during the regime of Shayesta Khan and came to Hijli in 1687 and back to Balasore in 1688. When war broke out in Bengal between the Moghuls and the English, the Subadar of Balasore attacked the local trading settlement. There were fierce reprisals for some time from both the sides, blind fury resulting in a temporary evacuation of Balasore by the English. In 1690 Aurangzeb granted them a new *firman* and the English returned.

During the next fifty years the affairs in Orissa enjoyed comparative quiet, but the destiny of the country was being forged in Bengal and as a result of the battle of Plassey, 1757, the English merchants of the East India Company obtained a firm and definite control over the administration of the provinces. This control was, however, indirect at first and Mir Jafar and his nephew and son-in-law Mir Kasim Ali Khan ruled the provinces nominally; but in 1764 Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were annexed to the Company's rule and next year, in 1765, the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was formally presented to Lord Clive by the titular Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam II.

“When the decline of the Moghul empire began the Bengal province found it difficult to maintain its hold on it (Kalinga), and the

* Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, p. 59, refers to a volume dated 1676, which contains a very interesting letter on the Balasore piece-goods.

Mahrattas under the Bhonslas of Nagpur were able to take easy possession of it. It was then recovered from the Mahrattas after the overthrow of the State of Nagpur, and since then underwent the vicissitudes that Bengal itself did, till in the last few years it became an integral part of the province of Bihar and Orissa."— Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, *Orissa*, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. VIII, Pt. I.

The rise of the Bhonslas in Berar dates from the beginning of the 18th century. In course of time they extended the dominion of the Mahrattas eastward to Nagpur and Orissa. In the first Mahratta war Wellesley defeated the Scindia and the Bhonsla, the latter having run away "at the first shot." The campaign ended with the Bhonsla ceding to the British Cuttack in the east and Berar in the west; he was to be known henceforth as the Raja of Nalpore. Lord Wellesley made over Berar to the Nizam of Hyderabad as a free gift, but kept Cuttack as a British possession according to the terms of Treaty of Deogaum with Raghojee Bhonsla.

British rule in Orissa begins, thus, really in the early years of the nineteenth century, on treaty negotiations having been concluded between the English and the Mahrattas. "Cuttack, Balasore and the ports thereof" came within the power of the Company in accordance with the terms of that treaty. On the 8th September, 1803, the English army left Ganjam for Orissa by the coast, reached Manikpatana on the 15th which at once and without fight yielded itself to their power, and arrived at Puri on the 18th where they met with no opposition from the *sevak*s of the temple to whom, it is said, they explained things "in a friendly manner." The British army then left Puri on the 20th September and reached Cuttack on the 10th October. The Mahratta soldiers there ran away and the citizens fled to Tangi. Balasore had been previously occupied on the 21st September, by a detachment sent out from Midnapore. Thus the whole of Orissa was subjugated without, practically, a single blow being struck against the newcomers. From that time till now the country has been free from any militarist patriotism, save and except for two small risings in and about Khurda, which were soon quelled. The British lost no time in organising the country by holding "settlement" operations, decreasing the number of landlords and adopting various other ways to explore the financial possibilities of the country as regards its revenue. The country has enjoyed British rule since 1803, the year of its first conquest.

That Orissa or, as is some times mentioned in the Despatches, "the province of Cuttack," was a desired object for possession in the eyes of the British Government appears from letters addressed from time to time by the Governor-General.

"From the Rajah of Berar I should wish to acquire the whole province of Cuttack, so as to unite the Northern Sircars by a continued line of sea-coast with Bengal. This cession, including Balasore, etc., to be made either absolutely, or upon payment of a moderate rent, or as a security for a subsidiary force to be introduced into the dominions of the Rajah of Berar. The district of Gunzumundelo has been an object to the Nizam. This object is to be pursued, according to circumstances, in the event of war with the Raja of Berar. Without securing one or other of these advantages, you will not make peace with the Rajah of Berar, after he shall have compelled you to resort to hostilities against him, unless, in your discretion, you should deem peace with the Rajah of Berar advisable on different terms."—Governor-General's Letter to the Commander-in-Chief, dated the 27th June, 1803, quoted on p. 165 (Enclosure E), *Mahratta War in 1803*, Vol. I, Printed by order of the House of Commons, 5th and 22nd June, 1804. The full title of the book is "Bengal, also, Fort St. George and Bombay Papers, presented to the House of Commons, pursuant to their orders of the 7th of May last, from the East India Company, relative to the Mahratta War in 1803."

Again, the Governor-General in Council wrote to the Secret Committee on the 25th September, 1803, as follows: "From the accounts which have been received, with regard to the troops of the Rajah of Berar in the province of Cuttack, there is no reason to suppose that these troops are either numerous or formidable; nor is it probable that they can receive any considerable reinforcements from Berar, while Major-General Wellesley's operations engage the attention of the Rajah for the defence of his person and of his capital. At all events, it may be expected that the introduction of any additional force into the province of Cuttack will be effectually prevented, by the previous occupation of the passes leading into that province either by the British troops, or by the Chieftains occupying the territory on the frontiers of Cuttack, whom we may be enabled to conciliate to the interests of the British Government.

"The Governor-General in Council entertains as a hope, that the officers of the Rajah of Berar may be induced to surrender the

possessions of that province to the British power without contest, and the Governor-General has adopted measures calculated to produce that desirable event. Under any probable circumstances, however, the Governor-General in Council confidently anticipates the complete and speedy success of the expedition against the province of Cuttack."—*Ibid*, p. 191.

CHANNELS OF THE NEW INFLUENCE

With the administrative control of the country in the hands of the British, Western influences show themselves in different walks of life. The College of Fort William was opened in 1800, but in Calcutta naturally Oriya did not come in for attention at first. Mohan Prasad Thakur is credited with having written a vocabulary of the language as late as about 1807. It must be said that the administrative change brought about corresponding changes of outlook in all walks of life, which again were harbingers of corresponding changes in literature. When the East India Company took up the work of administering the country, they were at first unwilling to shoulder the responsibilities of educating the people, and it was only after long and repeated remonstrances and demands from various quarters, that the Government of India at last made arrangements for the Universities of Calcutta and other Presidency towns and started feeder institutions throughout British territory in India. In such schools and colleges we may notice educative agencies busy instilling into the minds of the respective students of tender years, when their imagination is plastic and nature mobile, thoughts and ideas and forms in use in a rich, foreign literature. There they learnt with admiration and emulation (however vain and absurd it might be) the noble lines of Shakespeare and Byron, the thought-packed sentences of Bacon and Emerson, the generous sentiments of Burke and Mill. The imagination of the students was stirred, their aesthetic sense was nourished, their critical powers were liberalised by this healthy and beneficial contact with a storehouse of ideas and images, fresh and energetic. In this way the educational institutions of the country have been functioning as so many agencies for the circulation of Western influence in science and literature.

There have been other agencies for the diffusion of the new culture which deserve to be noted. The nineteenth century has witnessed

various public movements—religious, social and political. These movements have affected, in common with the other provinces of India, the general public of Orissa who, though they have availed themselves of English education to the desired extent, have been unable to escape the contagion of enthusiasm which is primarily the source of such movements. The Christian missions come in here for special mention. Carey and Thomas on their way to Bengal stopped at Balasore Roads.* The Christian missionaries who came over from England first landed on the Orissan coast on the 12th February, 1822. The name of the first missionary was Rev. Mr. Campbone. Rev. Mr. Lacey came two years later. They had come some time previously to Serampore, and with the advice of the Serampore brethren, came over to Orissa to make it the scene of the Society's operations. Assam was still unsettled, Punjab was far off, but Orissa was just close to Bengal and an improved edition of the New Testament was already taken in hand. The Marquis of Hastings, who was then the Governor-General, was applied to for permission and he readily granted it, so the missionaries proceeded to Cuttack. They had come to Orissa plentifully supplied with a considerable quantity of tracts and copies of the Scriptures for distribution—the number running up to about a thousand gospels and epistles, and five hundred tracts from Mr. Pearce. From June, 1822 to December, 1823, as many as 15 Native Schools were established, three of which were at some distance from Cuttack. These schools contained on their rolls the names of 305 boys and 63 girls. †

A school was started at Puri under Government auspices about 1835; and though the first batch of students showed very little promise, the improvement has been considerable.

The early missionaries first set up an Oriya printing press in 1836 and prepared Oriya types. They brought with them a new faith which claimed converts from those who worshipped Jagannath according to hereditary practice and in all sincerity. They attacked the caste system and brought with them new ideas of worship of God as well as new methods of church organisation. It may be surmised that the influence of these missions was at first neither very deep nor

* Carey's letter quoted in *Serampore Letters* (1800-1816) by L. and M. Williams (Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1892), p. 35.

† See *Orissa: Its Geography etc.* by Andrew Sterling, to which is added a history of the General Baptist Mission established in this province, by James Peggs (London, 1846), Chapter III, p. 195 ff.

very extensive but all the same they attracted the notice of the intelligentsia and influenced their lives and thoughts. For one thing, they had much to do with Brahmo organisations which overflowed to Orissa from Bengal, and we find later on that among the methods of modern Oriya literature there are certain elements which had been confirmed or strengthened by the support they drew from the Brahmo faith. It is difficult to omit the name of Madhusudan Rao in this connection.

But, as I have said already, it is necessary to dwell on the Western religious organisation with more detail. The contribution of Christian missionaries constitutes a definite landmark in the spread of Western influence in Orissa in matters affecting literature and other aspects of social life. In a letter written by Carey to John Williams we are told that one missionary was soon to be sent on to Orissa and that fair progress had been made in translating the Bible.* As a matter of fact, the Pentateuch was translated into Oriya in 1814; the second volume of the Holy Bible containing the Historical Books had been translated in 1811. The title page of these two books is given below :—

The | Holy Bible | containing the Old and New Testaments | Translated from the originals | into the Orissa Language || By the Serampore Missionaries | Vol. II | Containing the Historical Books || Serampore : || Printed at the Mission Press || 1811.†

The Oriya counterpart is stated in the following page as follows :—

Isvarar samasta vākya
visheshare
manuṣhyar trāṇa o kāryya sādhanārthare se
yāhā prakāsha
kariaschanti
arthāt
dharmapustak.

* "A Brother is going in a few days to carry the word of life to Orissa. . . . In the Orissa language, the New Testament, one volume of the Old Testament, viz. Job, Canticles is printed, and to about the XL Chap. of Isaiah of the next volume."—Letter dated 7th December, 1809, quoted in *Serampore Letters* (Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1892). Again, "We are just going to send Brother John Peter, a member of the Church at Calcutta, into Orissa, as a missionary."—Letter by J. Rowe, dated 19th Dec., 1809, quoted in the same book.

† Found in the Serampore College Library.

tahār prathamabhaga yahīre cārivarga
 mesahar vyavasthā
 Isrāelar vivaraṇa
 gītādi.
 bhaviṣhyadvākya.
 Tāhār dvitiya varga arthāt Isrāelar
 vivaraṇa ehi.
 evarī bhāṣhār tarjamā hoilā.
 Srīrāmpuraṭhāre chapā helā
 San 1811 Sāla.

This is followed by a *nirghāṇṭa* or index and a hint on pronunciation of names or, as it is called in the text, *nāmoccāraṇar varṇavichar*, which follows the method given in the Bengali translation of the Prophetical Books, published from Serampore in 1805. It is interesting to observe that the typography at this stage is not quite correct, e.g., in the matter of *-rja* and *Shree* above, and the note of interrogation is rendered thus—ॐ:—

Yeuthāre jijnāsā sethāre ॐ emata cinha.

Where there is a query, this sign is to be used.

The first volume of the Holy Bible was translated three years later, in 1814. It consisted of renderings of the Pentateuch. The note of interrogation has been omitted in the prefixed *nāmoccāraṇar varṇavichar*. A transcript of the first paragraph will easily show how the translator was guided in all ways by the arrangement of the original.

Next we come across *Uriya Poetical Books* translated by Rev. J. Carey himself from Hobrew and published in the same year. The title page in the vernacular is given below:—

Isvarar samasta vākya
 visheshare yāhā
 manushyar trāṇa o kāryya shodhanārthe prakāsha
 kariachanti.
 se
 dharmapustak.

— — — — —
 Tāhār prathamabhag yahīre cārivarga.
 moshār vyavasthā
 Israler vivaraṇa
 gītādi.

bbavishyadvākya
 Tābār trityavarga gītadi
 ehi.
 ebribhāshāre tarjjamā
 hoilā.
 Srīrāmapuraṭhāre chapā hoilā.

The *namoccāraṇar varṇavicāra* includes the mark of interrogation, curiously enough.

The New Testament was translated from original Greek into Oriya and published in 1822. We have given above the name of the first missionary as Rev. Mr. Campbone who landed on the Orissan coast on February 12, 1822. He was in fact the first European missionary. The Serampore group had before this sent out an Indian brother, as may be inferred from the following account.*

“ Our brother Krishnoo-das, whose memory is precious among us, took the Oorissa New Testament, went into that country, learned the language, and laboured therē with brother Petor, till arrested in his career by that sickness which at length conducted him to his Father’s house above.”

The book which contains this account gives the present and the past tense forms of the verb *to be* in Orissa language, as well as a transcript of the Lord’s Prayer, which is reproduced here :—

“ He ambhamanunkur swurgustha pita, toombhur nam pubitra manuya heoo, toombhur rajya prukash heoo, jemuta swurgure temuta prithibeere toombhur ishta kriya kura jao. Aji ambhumanunkur nitya bhuksha ambhumanunkao diya, pooni jemuta ambhemane ambhumanunkur rindhareemanunkoo kshuma kuri seec muti ambhumanunkur rin kshuma kur, ambhumanunkoo pureekshare ghenā jao na, pooni ambhumanunkoo apuduroo ruksha kur, kipana suda surbukshunune rajya o shukti o gourab toombhur. Amen.”

This record of literary work at Serampore contains several memoirs; the seventh memoir has a note that a second edition of the New Testament in Oriya for 4,000 copies is half through the press. It is difficult to reconcile an evident discrepancy in date here, specially because we come across the news that the New Testament in Oriya (2nd Edition) was sent to the press in 1803 and finished in 1811.

* *Literary Work at Serampore, 1815-16.*

The first edition of the Old Testament was, however, completed by 1819 and finally released from the press by that year.

Carey, Ward and the two Marshmans drew up the 8th memoir and there is an interesting comparison* in the matter of vernacular tracts prepared by Christian Missionaries.

That brings us to the subject of Christian tracts in Oriya, and the various missions which worked in Orissa. Years before the General Baptists of England started a mission at Cuttack in 1822, as noted before, the Serampore Missionaries had been serving Orissa with vernacular Christian literature, tracts and translations.† The first Oriya tract which the earliest convert received was printed at Serampore, 1818, and bore the caption "On the Folly of Jagannath's Worship." The second tract, "On the Stopping of Jagannath's Car at Serampore," was written by Ward. An Indian translated in verse from Bengali "The Immortal History of Christ" A handbill containing Scripture extracts was also printed at Serampore. There were "probably several other publications" by the Serampore group, but we do not know any further details as yet. There was an Oriya pundit at Serampore, who helped to rewrite the tracts and translations.

The great bulk of tracts is, however, due to the General Baptist Mission. A number of them were in verse. The most popular was "The Jewel Mine of Salvation," its first edition was translated by Messrs. Lacey and Sutton, about 1827, from the *Gospel Messenger* by Ram Basu. The *Catalogue of the Christian Vernacular Literature of India* records 17 books printed and published by the General Baptist Mission, and of them the following may be mentioned:—

Baxter's Call (Abridged). 76 pp. 12mo. Dr. Sutton. 1839.

Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. 337 pp. Pt I. 12mo. Dr. Sutton.
Cal. 1838.

Bunyan's Holy War. 362 pp. 12mo. Rev. C. Lacey. 1851.

Phulmani and Karuna. 206 pp. 12mo. Rev. I. Stubbins. 1857.

Watt's Divine and Moral Songs. 38 pp. 12mo. Dr. Sutton.
2 editions 1862-68.
Cal. 1837.

* *Literary Work at Serampore, 1816-30*, p. 40.

† See *Catalogue of the Christian Vernacular Literature of India* by Murdoch (Cobb Foster, Madras, 1870).

The third agency was the Calcutta Tract and Book Society, but what it did was more or less to get up portions of editions obtained from Cuttack.

We do not consider here in any detail the work done by the missionaries in the cause of education. An interesting sidelight is thrown by Adam's report by the information that the only collections of houses that deserved to be called towns were Cuttack, Balasore and "Jugunnath," with a population of approximately 40,000, 10,000 and 30,000.

Let us now turn to political movements. Orissa, which had been so long tagged on to Bengal, could not be expected to have developed its political life on independent lines but had to follow in the track through which the larger provinces moved. Indian politics had been throughout influenced by Western ideas of the sovereignty of the state and the rights of the people. Marks of this influence can be detected in the larger ideas which have predominated in the various stages of the growth of popular consciousness for political power. Petitioning for constitutional advance, boycotting foreign goods, imitating the aims and aspirations of Young Italy, Young Ireland, Young Russia, passive resistance and civil disobedience—all these are more or less capable of being definitely related to Western ideas. These political thoughts coloured the imagination, and stimulated the ideas, of thousands of men and women who never had to study in schools and colleges and who were utter strangers to Western literature and science.

CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

In the old days, when the British had not assumed control of the country, literary men and, as a matter of fact, all other artists depended on state patronage; it was the Raja, the chief, who distributed favours, granted plots of rent-free land, bestowed pensions and emoluments on those persons who could show their gift by improvising poems either in eulogy of the king and the line from which he was descended, or describing the beauties of nature in terms of glowing rhetoric. When the control of the country was transferred from these chiefs to the British, with it passed away their patronage also. Collective action began to supersede individual influence, and associations were formed for cultivating the old or modern school of poetry as well as for receiving and distributing the new influences.

This was by no means a new or strange phenomenon. In the history of Bengali literature we come across a number of such associations, distributory in their nature and collective in their idea, trying to function as so many centres of the new culture, or the old culture in a new form. The Academic Association of Derozio, the Vernacular Literature Society, the Society for the Distribution of Useful Knowledge, are eloquent names which the historian of the 19th century Bengali literature will remember with pride for their important contributions to the new literature that was in the making. The books published by such societies are now rarities; the papers read at their sittings live mostly in names and occasionally as essays in the (almost equally) obsolete journals; but in their days they were important signs of the times and also exerted a wide power in the country.

Let us now turn to parallel associations in Orissa after the establishment of British rule. Orissa came under British rule almost half a century later than Bengal; the associations formed were also after the fifties; the difference in time is thus pretty much the same. Accounts of such collective activities are to be hunted up from old newspapers, etc. We learn from them that about 1869 there was one Utkalollasini Sabha dear to the heart of orthodox Brahmins. There was another society, called the Cuttack Society, which brought out the *Utkala Hitaishini* in 1869 and attempted to take up the Printing Works. This society had its branches at Puri and Khurda.* There was also a Cuttack Young Men's Literary Association, started by Bhagabatichandra Chatterjea as the Honorary Secretary; in the *Utkala Putra*, 1874, there is a notice signed by Umeshchandra Sarker, the Honorary Secretary of the association, announcing a meeting to be held at Cuttack High School in which Babu Dwarkanath Chakravarti, Superintendent, Cuttack Normal School, and author of *Shikshā-Vidhān* in Oriya, would deliver a highly interesting lecture. Babu Rajkrishna Mookerjea, M.A., B.L., delivered a lecture in English on Hindu mythology at the Association on the 31st July, 1870, and the lecture was printed and published by the Cuttack Y. M. C. A. In the number of the *Utkala Dipikā* issued on the 10th August, 1867, we find an account of a preliminary meeting held to organise Utkalabhashoddipani Sabha on the 28th July, 1867. From it we learn that Rangalal Banerjee, Jagannmohan Ray, Pyarimohan

* The *Utkala Darpana*, 9th August, 1870.

Banerjee, Pundit Artatran Tarkapanchanan, Kapileshwar Vidya-bhushan, Banamali Sinha, Gobindachandra Mahapatra, Gaurishankar Ray were among those that were present. The following resolutions were adopted :—

That a list will be prepared of all existing books written in Oriya language, giving out the names of the books, their authors and their contents, with all available accounts of the authors themselves. A sub-committee to be formed to prepare this list, consisting of Pandit Artatran Tarkapanchanan, Kapileswar Singh, Banamali Singh, Govinda Mahapatra and Gaurishankar Ray.

That the following gentlemen be entrusted with the work of preparing a selection for the Matriculation Examination from the books noted against their names, the different passages to be finally approved by the society :—

Babu Rangalal Banerji and Pundit Prabhakar

Vidyaratna—*Vaidehisha Vilasa*

Babu Pyarimohan Acharyya and Pundit Artatran

Tarkapanchanan—*Subhadra Parinay*

Babu Chandrashekhar Banerji and Pandit

Kapileshwar Singh—*Rasakallola*

Babu Banamali Singh—Krishna Singha's *Mahabharat*

Babu Gobindachandra Mahapatra—*Bhasha Bhagabat*

Resolved also that arrangements may be made for collecting subscriptions to defray the expenses of the Society.

That a letter be addressed to the Govt. on the Society's aims and objects and requesting to be invested with authority to adjudicate on books fit for Orissan schools.

That Pandit Prabhakar Vidyaratna be nominated a member of the Society.

This Society had Gaurishankar Ray for its Secretary.

Rangalal Banerji, the distinguished Bengali Poet, presided at one* of the preliminary meetings held to organise the Society, and delivered a highly interesting lecture on the occasion.

It may be interesting to note here that when the Cuttack Printing Co. set about publishing Kavyas, and while the above Society (*Utkalabhashoddipani Sabhā*) proposed to select passages from the Mahabharata as in Krishna Singh's version, a company had been formed, the Puran Prakashika Company, which took up the publication of Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata*.†

* The *Utkala Dipikā*, dated May 19, 1867.

† See *Alochana*, about 1900.

From a correspondent in the *Utkala Dīpikā* we learn that a company was started at Balasore, with the object of gradually publishing all the best old works written in Oriya language ; the name of the concern was D. P. Das & Co., while to organise its work, a society had been started named " Utkala-Bhasha-Unnati-Bidhayinee-Sabha."* This D. P. Das was Daityari Prasad Das, a Balasore lawyer, who was an enthusiast in the cause of Oriya literature.

From a newspaper account† we learn also of a society named Cuttack School Book Company, modelled on Calcutta School Book Society. The initiative was taken by Babu Kalipada Banerjee and the inaugural meeting was held in his rooms. It was proposed that the Society should have some capital of its own, about thirteen hundred rupees, to be divided into 130 shares, of which, we are told, 70 were subscribed for on the spot, and applications were invited for the rest. We hear from the *Dīpikā* also of a Cuttack society which had branches at Puri and Khurda.‡

This is merely a sketch or an indication to show how cultural associations or collective efforts were formed and how they replaced the now effete state patronage. It is true that most of these organisations were futile and could show nothing in point of achievement, but they gave expression to the desire which existed among the intelligentsia to resuscitate the old treasure as well as to march hand in hand with the modern languages of India. It is necessary to collect more materials on this plan and set out a fully furnished history of cultural associations formed in the 19th century Orissa ; the work would be of great interest to a consideration of Western influence for which such organisations acted as so many channels.

It is necessary to refer here to a distressing event in the annals of Orissa which chilled the genial current of her soul and stilled much of her animation which might normally have developed into national well being in the varied departments of life. It was a wide-spread famine in Orissa in the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, or to place it more definitely, in 1867. The monsoon had totally failed in 1865, but Sir Cecil Beadon did not like " to interfere with economic laws " ! We are told that a quarter of the inhabitants died and some

* Dated November 3, 1866.

† *Utkala Dīpikā*, January 26, 1867.

‡ *Ibid*, August 9, 1870.

English historians have remarked * : " Seldom can official complacency and doctrinaire economics have combined to produce such a holocaust." It lay heavy as a blight over the nation, and exacted an immense sacrifice in men, women and children. From the *Utkala Darpana*, 1867, we learn that Calcutta people liberally contributed to the relief fund created for the purpose ; thus, Raja Kamalkrishna, Rai Bahadur Rajendra Mullick and Hiralal Seal each contributed Rs. 1,000 and Raja Prasannakumar Tagore and Durgacharan Law gave away Rs. 500 each. The Chief of Dhenkanal, Bhagirathi Mahendra Bahadur, was awarded the distinction of Maharaja for his philanthropic measures in this connection.

There was a Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the causes of the famine and the comment of the Secretary of State for India on the Report submitted by the Commission is well worth reproducing here : " This catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, and to those of our Indian officials of whom we had been perhaps a little too proud." In course of the debate which ensued, Lord Cranbourne bitterly reproached himself for the apathy with which the situation had been viewed and handled : " But the great evil, and it was a hard thing to say, was that the English officials in India, with many very honourable exceptions, did not regard the lives of the coloured inhabitants with the same feeling of intense sympathy which they would show to those of their own race and colour (Hear, hear). If that were the case, it was not their fault alone. Some blame must be laid upon the society in which they had been brought up and upon the public opinion in which they had been trained, and it became them to remember that from that place, more than from any other in the kingdom, proceeded that influence which formed the public opinion of the age, and more especially that kind of public opinion which governed the actions of officials. And if we would have our officials in distant parts of the empire, and especially in India, regard the lives of their fellow-subjects at home, it was we who must give the tone and set the example (Hear, hear). That must arise from the zeal and jealousy with which we watched their conduct and the fate of our Indian fellow-subjects. And until we showed them our thorough earnestness in this matter, . . . until we were careful to correct all abuses and display our own sense that they are as thoroughly our

* *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt (1984).

follow-subjects as those in any other part of the empire, we could not divest ourselves of all blame if we should find that officials in India did treat with something of coldness and indifference such frightful calamities as that which had so recently happened in that country (Loud cheers).*

The excuse for quoting the speech of the noble lord at so much length is to show that the famine retarded all sorts of healthy activity in Orissa ; literature must have suffered largely from the general stagnation of life ; and the spread of Western influence could not be so speedy as might otherwise be expected, on account of the terrible sufferings which the Local Government viewed with apathy and thus added fuel to fire.

It is necessary to emphasise here the late working of the Western influence, late in comparison specially with the sister province of Bengal. That province had been the first to receive Western influence and as the seat of the Government of all India, it was but natural that new changes would be brought down first to Calcutta whence they would be transmitted to all parts of India, the different districts receiving such innovations and modifying them according to their respective situations, tastes and capacities. Orissa was comparatively inaccessible ; work there meant being cut off from the outside world ; communication was difficult, educational institutions were few in number, and such as they were, they had no hold on the popular mind. In point of time we thus get to the early days of the pioneers of modern Oriya literature who, towards the middle of the last century, received impressions from Western ways of life and thought and transmitted these impressions to the literature through the creative agency of their mind. The autobiography of Fakirmohan Senapati has a great historical importance from this point of view, as, alone among Oriya biographical literature, it contains descriptions of the transitional stage of the country when such Western influence as we now see at work began to act and to break up the time-honoured constitution of Orissan society and literature.

Though the development due to Western influence was thus admittedly late, yet we should take note of attempts, by publications of various sorts, to make it possible for the literature to receive such

* House of Commons Debate, 2nd August, 1867.—From the *Indian Mirror*, September 1, 1867.

influences. The College of Fort William, established by His Excellency the Marquis of Wellesley for properly equipping the servants of the East India Company, brought out one dictionary, or properly speaking vocabulary, for the use of its students. The title-page ran as follows:—

To

The Rev. W. Carey, D. D.

Professor of the Bengali, Sungskrit,
and Marhatta Languages, in the College of Fort William,

This work

is most respectfully dedicated

by his most Obedient Humble Servant,

Mohunpersaud Takoor.

Calcutta, July, 1, 1811.

A few remarks about the contents of the book deserve to be made here. It received considerable patronage at the time of its publication, the Hon'ble the Governor-General having subscribed one hundred copies for the East India Company. Among other subscribers the names of Hyderam Bandopadhya, Lt. T. Roebuck and H. Sargent may be mentioned. The vocabulary had 32 divisions under different heads:—God, spirits, universe, the sex and age of man, kindred and affinity, parts of the body, accidents of the body and soul, natural senses and their objects, of diseases, of remedies in general, materia medica, quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, useful trees and plants, metals and stone, apparel, food, house and furnitures (sic), husbandry, trade and commerce, trades and professions, court of justice, school, kingdom, virtues and vices, adjectives of men, arts and sciences, ecclesiastical matters, verbs and adverbs. The words were arranged in three columns as follows: the word in Oriya script was first put in, it was followed by its romanized form for the purpose of pronunciation, and then came the English synonym.

Earlier, perhaps, in the century John Leyden attempted a Grammar of Oriya and Bengali with a comparative vocabulary. The first part consisted of the Bengali Grammar, with notes on different items as sandhi, śabdārūp, strīṭva, kriyārūp, samāsa, etc.; the second consisted of the Oriya Grammar written in Oriya characters and on the lines of the first part; the third was a comparative vocabulary

of Sanskrit, Bengali, Prakrit, and Oriya words systematically arranged. Except for the Sanskrit words, the Oriya characters are used for words of Indian origin. One stumbles upon this work in a list of manuscripts where the information is given that this particular manuscript (it seems to have been never published) was acquired in 1824.*

The second attempt was made by Rev. Ames Sutton and Bhubanananda Nyayalankar in 1843, under the name of *Utkala Bhāshārthābhīdhān*. Next year was published another dictionary, *Sādhu-Bhāshārthābhīdhān*. Its title page runs thus: A vocabulary of current Sanskrit terms, with Oriya definitions.

It was thus an anonymous publication. The next dictionary was *Shabdānidhi*, of the Das-Patnaik's series, published in two parts, the first dealing with the letters, both dated 1883. It was compiled by Chaturbhuj Pattanayak, B.A., and published by Bhagaban Chandra Das at his own expense. From the obligations recorded by the editors, it appears that there were no other dictionaries published in the interval between 1844 and 1883. Help was taken from *Vāchaspatyābhīdhān*, *Shubdastoma-Mahānidhi*, *Shabdakalpadruma*, *Amarakosha*, *Shabdakalpalatikā*, *Shabdasāra*, *Pocket Dictionary*, *Prakritipāda*, *Shabdārtha-Prakāśhikā*, *Gītābhīdhāna*, and the two Oriya Dictionaries just mentioned. This new publication was also cheap in comparison, having been priced at about Rs. 2, while Sutton's cost Rs. 6 and Muller's Rs. 15. Apart from the compilation of dictionaries, there were other books showing the new influence at work. The Calcutta School Book Society brought out a number of texts for children: *Nītikathā* or Fables appeared in three parts—the first contained stories; the second, 14 heads like *Lobhara Kathā*, *Dhanākānkhi Bālakara Kāthā*; the third, 45 fables like a frog and a bull, a wolf and a fox, a lion and a mouse, with 'morals' or *tātparyas*. These ran through several editions, the fourth edition of Part III is dated 1866. This seems to have been more popular, as the fifth edition of Part I is dated 1891, and the fourth edition of Part II is dated 1877. The *Nītibodh*, a selection from Chambers's Moral Class Book translated by W. C. Lacey from the Bengali of Sri Raj Krishna Banerjee for the use of Government

* See *Catalogue of the Bengali and Assamese manuscript in the Library of the India Office* By the Late James Fulla Blumhardt, M.A., Oxford University Press, 1924. Compiled for the use of the Government Schools in Orissa, Cuttack: Printed at the Oriya Mission Press, 1844.

Schools, was published in 1884 by the Calcutta School Book Society. As a matter of fact, a list of the Oriya publication of the School Book Society attached to the book *Nitibodh* contained the names of 22 books of all sorts, arithmetic, essentials of geography, sketches of history, elements of science, etc., etc. Most of the attempts to write text books in later times continued to be crude; *Oriya Geography* or *Bhugol Vidyā, Vishay, Pruthīvi o tākār desha o nivāsi-mānanka samkhepa-vruttānta*, compiled by Rev. J. Phillips, which ran through a second edition in 1855 at the Orissa Mission Press deserves a passing notice.

Considering the times in which it was written, *Darshana Chandra* printed in 1868 by Gowri Ch. Mahanti was more than ordinarily ambitious in design. It was written in Oriya verse and contained an abstract of the different systems of Sanskrit Philosophy. One simply wonders what demand this book tried to meet. Anyway, it presupposes the existence of a high level of general culture in the country, available in the vernacular.

There was a grammar of the Oriya language composed and published in 1867, as we find from an advertisement in the *Indian Daily News*: "Handbook of the Oriyah Language, by T. J. Maltby, M.C.S., for the use of District officers and others. Cloth-bound, 215 pp.; to be used as a text-book, and priced at Rs. 4 cash."

IS THERE A "GENERAL WILL" ?

CHUNILAL MITRA, M.A.

[Introduction in Democracy—criticism, general and Ibsen; Kant's will—criticism, general and Bradley; Bradley's general will; Laski; Sidgwick; Hobbes and Locke; Rousseau; Bosanquet's will—objection by Hobhouse; Hobhouse's own; Hegel and Schopenhauer; Marx; Feuerbach; Nietzsche; suprema will in the Gita.

Retrospect: Inference; own view; will in the Gita; old controversy between monarchy and democracy; conflict of wills; will of surviving value.—General upshot.]

EVER since the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln's doctrine of "Government of the people for the people and by the people," democracy has undergone severe criticism by both the contending parties. The opponents of democracy would say that it is "the Government of the poorest, the most ignorant, the most incapable, who are necessarily the most numerous." (Lecky.) For it rests upon the false theory that every man is equal to every other man so far as capacity to participate in Government is concerned. In a democracy the Government being responsible to all the people is practically responsible to none. And as a matter of fact, "Democracy insures neither better government nor greater liberty." (Maine.) And as it is the rule by the majority, perhaps men like Ibsen would come forward and denounce it as a worst wrong. For the strongest man upon earth, according to him, is he who stands most alone. To use Ibsen's language: "The majority is never right. Never, I say! That is one of the social lies, a free thinking man is bound to rise against. Who makes up the majority in any given country? Is it the wise men or the fools? I think we must agree that the fools are in a terrible overwhelming majority all the wide world over. You may shout me down, but you cannot gainsay me. ("An Enemy of the People.") In a more emphatic voice Ibsen tells us: "The majority has might, but right it has not. I and the few individuals are right. The minority is always right." His text is just this—that the masses, the majority, the confounded compact majority, is poisoning our spiritual life of its source, and making a plague-spot of the ground beneath our feet. Men like Freeman would go to the extreme and in an unerring and unequivocal language would tell us that the ideal form of Government is no Government at all, the existence of Government in any shape is a sign of man's imperfection. But this is going too far,

On the other hand, the exponents of democracy tell us that not to speak of material well-being, it has spiritual aspect also. "It is the progress of all through all under the leading of the best and wisest." (Mazzini.) What we think is that the Willsonian democratic principle is a concretisation of the Lincolnian maxim—"you can fool all the people for some time or some of the people for all time, but you cannot fool all the people for all time." However, it is not the place nor the time to criticise democracy, nor to say dogmatically which will survive. For, no Government has any survival value, but transitional. Every age is an age of transition, or to use Radhakrishnan's phrase, it is at once a continuity and a crisis. Our object is to point out that the controversy on democracy depends on an ulterior and more genuine a controversy. It is no longer a question of democracy or no-democracy but general will or no-general will. Is there any general will at all? If so, can it be represented by any organization—ethical, political or social? So, we land on a more general question on the will general.

Kant tells us that the moral will is general. It is the Good Will. "Act so that the maxim of thy will can always at the same time hold good as a principle of universal legislation." "The autonomy of the will is the sole principle of all moral laws, and of all duties which conform to them; on the other hand, heteronomy of the elective will not only cannot be the basis of any obligation, but is, on the contrary, opposed to the principle thereof, and to the morality of the will." His good will is the free-will, the universal will, the Autonomous will or the Formal will. This will is autonomous; Abbot in Kant's "Metaphysics of Morals" tells us that "Autonomy of the will is the supreme principle of morality; its heteronomy is the source of all spurious principle of morality; and the concept of freedom is the key that explains this autonomy." In other words, "It is autonomous because it is free, free because it is universal, universal because it is not particular, not particular because it is formal and formal excludes all contents." It is by being not this or that that it succeeds in having nothing which is not common to any this or that, i.e., in being not this or that in particular it is this or that in general. This is Kant's general will. And ever since it has got currency, it has undergone severe criticism. Some would say that Kant's formulation of the will involves contingency, formalism and asceticism. The *sumum bonum* it speaks of is self-sacrifice instead of self-realisation. Jacobi would say that it is

the will that wills *nothing*. But no criticism is so harsh and severe as that of Bradley. To speak of a few charges: Kant's good will, says Bradley, in itself is an empty consort. It tells us *that* will is good but not *what* will is good. For the unrelative particular it substitutes the abstract universal. It offers self-realisation as the moral end, but the self which is to be realised is conceived as the negation of reality. "We are thus asked to realise what can never be real." It demands the realisation of a contradiction—a realisation of a bare form without a content. The mere universal is no action. The bare formal, universal will must be concretised into a particular act. But then, to particularise the universal, the universal Will ceases to be universal. And the Kantian Ethics demands of us to realise such a universal, formal, pure will. "But," says Bradley, "doing 'good' in the abstract, and rectifying 'wrong' in the abstract is doing no good nor is it rectifying any wrong but indulging in pure hypocrisy." Again he says that Kant's duty for duty's sake involves a fallacy of tautology. Without entering into further discussion we can say that Bradley's criticism is sound to some extent but not to the extreme furthest extent to which it has gone. And Kant is not to be so summarily rejected. In the realisation of Kant's general will the individual will is also realised and happiness is insured. Happiness follows as a hind-wheel—as an inseparable adjunct to the realisation of virtue. Kant's ethical legacy to us is simply this: Do unto others as you expect them to do unto you. It amounts to the injunction of the New Testament: Love thy neighbour as thyself. This speaks for social solidarity. And it is a better criterion than any other theory of morals.

Bradley believes in the general will but in a sense different from Kant. His general will is not the international will and far less the cosmopolitan. It is not the abstract will of Kant but the imperial national will of the state. But side by side he makes provision for the individual will—your will and my will—his will and her will. But his is a no more improved position than Kant's. On the other hand, his admission of the double will has made his position doubly bad. It is worse than Kant's. It is satisfactory enough, and we understand him well when he says that "Duty is not duty unless, in every case, it is consciously done for the sake of duty," or that, "In Duty there must be my affirmation of myself"—my individual Will. "I cannot make an ultimate end of anything but myself, cannot make myself a means to something else." This much is sound enough. But

how does he reconcile this position of his with the passages elsewhere—the doctrines propounded in other places? For instance, Bradley tells us that in the realisation of the will of the state the individual will is also realised. And he makes this general will supreme to which individual will is to be subordinated. As a matter of fact, he has drawn a few concentric circles, so to speak—beginning from the individual, family, community and greater community to the state—and he conceives that realisation of the will of the greatest circle means and involves the realisation of that of the smallest circle within it. But we differ from him in maintaining that the individual, smaller and minor circles being distinct in size may be (and are) distinct in richness also which might not find fruition in the fruition of greater and greater circles. Indeed, if this surrender to the greater organisation means also self-realisation and realisation of my will and your will, we refuse ourselves to be realised in such a fashion. We can very well say that if the realisation of the Kantian will is a realisation of a contradiction, realisation of the Bradlean will is a realisation of a falsity. And if one is bad, the other worse.

In answering Bradley we should quote the authority of Laski. Prof. Laski in his "Grammar of Politics" observes: "The will of the state is a particular aspect of the whole. It is an urgent aspect, in the same sense that the skeleton is a vital aspect of the body. But it is not one with the will of the society (and far less of the individual) any more than the life of the body is in its supporting skeleton." The will of the state is only my will in so far as I freely lend my judgment to its enforcement. I make my own obligations from scrutiny of its demands, or they are not in any real sense obligations at all. I am a part of the state, but I am not one with it. "If an individual is a member of the herd, he is also outside it." He is more explicit when he says that surrender to a will in which my *own* discovers no apparent identity is the frustration of personality and not its fulfilment. The will of the state, says Laski, is the will which is adopted out of the conflict of a myriad wills which contend with each other for the mastery of social forces. And the will of the state is subject to the scrutiny of all who come within the ambit of its decisions.

As regards Sidgwick, he is nowhere explicit whether he is an exponent, a believer of general will or the individual. As a matter of fact, his whole ethica is a blending of Butler and Clarke, Mill and Kant. And so far he makes utilitarianism the key of his morals, it

seems to us that he is more leaning towards individual will than to the General.

A better and more concise treatment of the subject is made both by Hobbes and Locke. But they differ widely. Hobbes insists that sovereignty must be in a will and this will must be real and must be taken as representing or standing for the will of the community. He places the unity of a political society in a will, and, in his sense a real and an actual will, but not in a general will. Locke feels that actual Government is a trust and that the ultimate supreme power remains in the community as a whole. But then the will of the people is not expressed by Locke as a real or actual will. "For Hobbes then political unity lies in a will which is actual but not general, while for Locke it lies in a will which is general, but not actual." If the two are pressed to extremes, the former annihilates "self" and the latter annihilates "Government."

Sovereignty for Rousseau consists in the exercise of the general will and it is in this characteristic of political society that he finds the justification for the use of force upon individuals. His moral is the natural otherwise moral person is a fiction. Rousseau's will is at once actual and general; on the one hand it is an absolute and determinate adjustment and recognition of rights; on the other hand, it embodies in its recognition all individual claims which represent true individuality. Here Rousseau differs both from Locke and Hobbes. He has made sufficient provisions for both the individual and the social will. His "general will is the will of whole society *as such*, or the wills of the individuals *in so far as they aim at the common good*." It is expressed in law in so far as law is what it *ought to be*. According to him, in obeying the law we are obeying ourselves and are actually attaining our freedom. In this sense he holds that the general will is right and is indestructible. The relation of the general will to the community is plainly apprehended by Rousseau much in the spirit of the doctrine that man always aims at something which he takes to be good, and so the general will is as much implied in the life of a society as in the individual. The two are not only analogous but to a greater extent identical.

Bosanquet assumes that the real will is in fact identical with the general will. And by real will he means what one wills from moment to moment. This real or actual will is always incomplete and contradictory and inharmonious. He holds that our real will may be

something which we never really will because we do not know it and could not recognise it if it were set before us. According to him the self is free when it is master of its passions, or, in his words, "when the real will is the master of the false will."

Hobhouse objects to the assumption of Bosanquet and his whole treatise "Metaphysical Theory of the State" is primarily and fundamentally an answer to Bosanquet's position. In the opinion of Hobhouse there is no part in us which is more real than any other part. He emphasises the practical danger of the application of force on the individual by the general will of the society which Bosanquet dismisses as of secondary importance. The former holds that the will of the society may be radically opposed to my own will. If freedom depended upon the identity of will, there would not be much of it in a complex world. He is essentially of opinion that political freedom does not consist in likemindedness, but in the toleration of differences—in acceptance of differences as contributing to richer life than uniformity. We are free not because the social will is our own but because we have as much scope for expression as any one man can have. "More than this is the beginning of tyranny, less is the beginning of slavery." For the Hegelians the will of the state is the Real will. But Hobhouse goes against the Hegelians and consequently against Bosanquet. According to Hobhouse, Hegel approaches the subject by somewhat unfortunate an analogy. The will is free, for Hegel, in the same sense as matter is heavy. He speaks of self-determination in terms of subjection. And "this is the fallacy," says Hobhouse, "that runs through all Hegel's theory of law and the State." Thus Hobhouse criticises the position of Hegel. But in justice to Hegel's conception we should say that it cannot be so summarily cancelled as Hobhouse has done. Hegel believes in the general will so far that he believes in the Objective Spirit which comprehends his Ethics, his philosophy of Right, of the State and of History. History is the realisation of this general will, the Objective spirit first and the Absolute spirit next. It is a progressive realization of the Absolute, and Philosophy is an interpretation of history.

Marx believes in the social will or a class-consciousness. It is neither general in the wider extent nor individual; nor is it in any way Absolute or divine. He differs from Hegel on the one hand, and Kant on the other. He rules out any ethics based on divine revelation. And for him Absolute ethical idealism is utopian and more dangerous

than any philosophy of social atomism. "Social ties exist," says Marx, "before ethical commands." Kant's categorical imperative he would declare as vapid whim if not actually dangerous. "A state," says Marx, "that made the attempt to live up to the commandments (of Christ) would go to pieces." Unity of social consciousness according to Marx is an historical and sociological fact, not a metaphysical assumption. Before there is a man there are men. Man first sees and recognises himself in other *men*. Consciousness is social before it is individual. Differing from Hegel, Marx would say that Reason *writes* history but Passion *makes* it. History can be explained rationally but it is not made by reason. If for Hegel history is a progressive realisation of freedom and of the Absolute, for Marx it is a progressive development towards the socialisation of the means of life. Without such realisation freedom is a fetish. History is not the autobiography of God. It is not the product of impersonal forces, nor does it make itself. It is rather man who makes history. The free development of all the social will, is the condition for the free development of each, of individual will. He makes the general will subordinate, and absolute will a naught.

Feuerbach is an anticipation of Marx in his denial of the supreme, Absolute will and his singular emphasis on the singular, individual will—the will of man. In his hand, it seems, even the social will of Marx is cancelled. His is the philosophy of anthropomorphism—man being the measure of all things. He observes: "We might try to imagine what things are like from a point of view which is not human. But this is illusory." "No matter what the metaphor, allegory or imagery under which I try to conceive things, *I cannot escape myself*." His position will be significant in the following passage of his own: "The question is no longer of the existence or non-existence of God, but of the existence or non-existence of man; not whether and how we can partake of the body of the Lord by eating bread, but whether we have enough bread for our own bodies; not whether we render unto God what is God's and unto Cæsar what is Cæsar's, but whether we render unto man what is man's; not whether we are Christians or Heathens, thist theists or atheists, but whether we are or become men, healthy in soul and body, free, active and full of vitality."

We propose to class Nietzsche under the category of Feuerbach or Marx. He is an upholder, a believer and a propounder neither of the

social will nor of the will of the state, nor of the Absolute will, but of the individual creative will. His ethics is neither scriptural nor traditional nor rational in the sense of merely critical, but *creative*. He would say perhaps with Mirabeau that "moral genius must always swallow his formulas and start afresh." His most striking contributions to ethical theory are to be found in his doctrines of the "Transvaluation of Values" and "Beyond Good and Evil". He describes the Christian morality as a morality of slaves and seeks to substitute for it a "morality of lords" by a limited number of supermen who become *super* by their creative will. This higher morality is further characterised by Nietzsche as "beyond Good and Evil" in the sense that it is above law. We have in the writings of Mr. Bernard Shaw a reproduction and a representation of Nietzsche so far as the doctrines of "Superman" and "transvaluation of values" are concerned. Critics are of opinion that in any country of shame and hypocrisy and conventional morality Nietzsche's view is undoubtedly a valuable tonic. But not to speak of the myriad merits and demerits of it, we should simply say that it is an extremely one-sided view.

A retrospect to the whole thing: some believe in the individual will, some in the will general, of society or of the state, in some form or other. But our attachment is with none. We do believe neither in the individual nor in the general will. We do not think that an individual will is realised in detachment and separation from the rest; nor can it be realised in the realisation of any organisation smaller or larger. No group can represent my will or stand as proxy for my will. But, I think, representation (though not realisation) of some sort of my will might be done by a group where I can trace my own blood-relation. But even then my will might extend over theirs. And though I do not believe in a general will, I believe in a supreme, a higher will of an individual where my will finds fruition, and without being frustrated and stultified it becomes fulfilled. This higher, supreme and individual will must have in it universal aspect, which is not merely a collocation and conglomeration of the individual aspect, but more. In this sense at least individuals may seek and find their satisfaction in another single individual will, but not in a general will. This is possible only in a spiritual sense. To clear my position, I take the help of an analogy from mathematics. The common factor of 3 and 5 can be had either by H.C.F. or by L.C.M. In the former case the result is 1, which is an abstraction of 3 and 5 and where

both 3 and 5 are absent. In the latter case we have 15, where both 3 and 5 are found. The former case I call the case of the general will, which being general and common is no one's; whereas the latter I call the individual (but universal), which represents all individuals. I posit its possibility on a spiritual ground, the description of which I find in the Bhagabadgītā which, I think, prescribes the prolegomena to all future ethics. The injunctions of Lord Krishna to Arjuna like "मामेकं शरणं ब्रज", "तत् मदर्पणं", "मय्येव मन आधत्स्व मयि बुद्धि निवेशय", etc., speak of a rising up and merging of the individual will into a higher will. If it is called a surrender, a submission or a sublimation, it is a submission not by enforcement, nor by enactment, but by love and reverence—not so much by compulsion as by compunction. But then, I might be asked, and quite pertinently, does this admission of a supreme will admit also the Divine Rights of the Stuart Kings or the will of the modern Dictators who profess to represent the will of the masses? Decidedly not. For, the divine-right claim implies passive obedience on the part of the subjects. And I, with the historians, agree that this extravagant notion of royal prerogative was largely responsible for the constant friction between King and Parliament under the Stuarts. But our position is simply this—that the single will might represent the general will when all sorts of restraints are withdrawn and no freedom, and when in the pensive, isolated, and 'cool' moment, to use Sidgwick's phrase, the individuals should find an urge to submit to that individual will. Arjuna was given the chance, the freedom, the possible sources of scrutiny. To submit or not to submit was quite optional to him and no obligation. And he found the satisfaction of his will in sublimation to that will. Thus I end by positing the possibility of such an individual (universal, higher and supreme) will where other wills of the individuals may find a refuge in peace and glory. If it be still a case of possibility merely, I submit that in the general will of any description (will of a group or an organisation) it is still less possible.

In the last I resume the first question with which I started. The tug-of-war between monarchy and democracy is a tug-of-war between the survival of the individual will or the general. And whether one is better than the other depends on a further question whether the nature of the surviving will is better or worse. So, the Aristotelean dictum, I think, is still significant and would remain significant for all times to come: "It is not the form of government but the man

who governs that is of primary importance." What I am firmly of opinion is that, the good will is more enshrined in the one than in the many—more in the individual than in the general. But, sadly or happily, history has hardly recorded an instance where that individual good will has been allowed to survive. Becket's good will survived after his death, while others did not survive at all. Our Socrates died at the cup of hemlock and our Luther was excommunicated, before their will saw the light of the day. Columbus died in exile, abused, slandered and betrayed ; and Galileo dragged out his last days sightless in a prison cell. Descartes had to die abroad, and our Spinoza fell a victim to cruel persecution. Victor Hugo lived 20 years (if not more) in exile ; and Demosthenes, the greatest orator of all times, was assassinated. The cause of Jesus triumphed after his crucifixion. Such is the lot of the greatest members of our species. We are not certain whether their individual will was all along good in every one ; but we are sure and more sure that their will fell outside the will of the society to which they belonged. Conversely, the surviving will of the society fell beside theirs. So, I am led to think that the history of conflict (individual, social, national or international) is a history of the collision of wills. So, the question is not so much important whether there is a general will or not, but whether there is a good will or not, whether it is embodied in the individual or in the general will, and lastly, what will is going to survive in the long run and in the ravages of the ages.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Lucknow University

The Bengali students of the Lucknow University have formed a Bengali Literary Association with Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee as President, and Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee as Treasurer. Bengali ex-students of the University are entitled to become its members.

A National Militia for Karachi

A scheme for the formation of national militia, on lines suggested by Dr. B. S. Moonjee during his visit to Karachi as a member of the Army Indianisation Committee, has been prepared by non-officials including Mr. Jamshed Mehta, Mr. Hatim Alavi, ex-Mayor of Karachi, and Rao Bahadur Shivrattan Mohatto.

Primary Teachers of Bengal

The 4th Annual Session of the All-Bengal Primary Teachers' Conference will be held at Dacca under the presidency of Khan Bahadur Alfazuddin Ahmed, late Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. A strong Reception Committee has been formed. The fees for the Reception Committee Member and Delegate have been fixed at Re. 1 and As. 8 respectively. All communications are to be made to the following address:—

Md. Abdul Hakim Bikrampur, M.L.A., Secretary, Reception Committee, P.O. Munshiganj, Dacca, or Sj. Radhika Prosad Banerjee, Secretary, All-Bengal Primary Teachers Association, 61 Ballygunj Place, Calcutta.

National Planning Committee

It is understood that Mr. Anathnath Bose of the Calcutta University has been appointed a member of the Education Sub-Committee of Indian National Planning Committee.

Osmania University

Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee has been invited by the Osmania University of the Nizam's Government to deliver a course of Extension Lectures there.

Primary Education at Darbhanga

Free and compulsory primary education for boys between 6 and 10 years of age is being enforced by the Darbhanga Municipality within its jurisdiction.

The scheme has been formally inaugurated.

Nagpur University

"Laxminarayan Day," held under the auspices of the Nagpur University, was celebrated at Nagpur recently. A procession of teachers and students of the Law, Robertson and Hitkarini colleges, assembled at the fountain in the city and marched to the Municipal Hall where a large gathering was present. Mr. M. K. Golwalker presided.

The late Rao Bahadur, D. Laxminarayan had donated Rs. 38,00,000 to the Nagpur University for technical and industrial development in the province. The sum has now amounted to Rs. 55,00,000.

Training in Flying

The Director of Civil Aviation in India has addressed a communication to the presidents of all subsidized Flying Clubs in the country, stressing that the clubs have a clear part to play in the present war.

They have been asked to go forward in imparting training in flying to the utmost of their capacity and the highest standard possible, and by providing the means, by which British subjects, Indian and European, who wish to offer their services to the Air Force, can prepare themselves for the time when their services can be absorbed.

Muslim University

A special delegation from the Aligarh Muslim University, consisting of Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Vice-Chancellor, Professor A. B. A. Haleem, Pro Vice-Chancellor, the Treasurer and the Registrar of the University, conferred on His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, the degree of Doctor of Law, at a special function in the presence of leading officials and non-officials of the State.

In the course of the conferment, Sir Shah Muhammad referred to the close and personal interest which the Ruling House of Bhopal had taken in the University, particularly to the association of Her late Highness the Begum of Bhopal as the First Chancellor of the University and of His Highness as the second Chancellor.

Sir Shah Muhammad further referred to His Highness's connection with the institution as a student and to the institution's share in the munificent donations which His Highness had given to many educational institutions.

Replying, His Highness thanked the Vice-Chancellor, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, the Treasurer and the Registrar for the honour which had been conferred on him. Referring to the impression prevailing in some quarters that he has ceased to take an interest in the Varsity's affairs, His Highness assured them that his interest in his *Alma Mater* was as deep as ever and that he would regard it as a privilege to do any service that he could for the institution.

Dacca University Representatives

The University of Dacca will be represented by the following delegates at the Madras Session of the All-India Science Congress: Dr. S. P. Roy chowdhury, Dr. S. Guha Sarker, Dr. S. R. Khastagir, Dr. N. M. Bose and Mr. H. G. Bhattacharjee.

Dr. K. R. Quanungo and Dr. D. C. Ganguly will represent the Dacca University at the next session of the All-India Historical Congress at Calcutta and Dr. Quanungo will represent the University at the Historical Records Committee.

It is further learnt that Mr. Ajitkumar Sen will represent the Dacca University at the next session of the All-India Political Science Conference at Lahore.

Philosophical Congress

It is learnt that the Indian Philosophical Congress will be held in Hyderabad (Deccan) on 19th and 20th December next.

Oriental Conference

The All-India Oriental Conference meets at Hyderabad in the third week of December next.

Political Science Conference

The Second Indian Political Science Conference will be held at Lahore on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th January, 1940.

Miscellany

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT

According to British statute, collective agreements are not enforceable (except when made with a single employer), they are merely gentlemen's agreements, but as such they are as a rule strictly applied. During the depression in the cotton industry, however, the pressure from outside was so great that members of the organisations concerned began to break away. The employers and workers were unanimous in desiring the wage rates specified in the collective agreements to be binding for the whole industry. As a result, the Cotton Manufacturing (Wages Agreement) Act was passed in 1934, and makes provision, subject to numerous conditions, for the generalisation in the cotton weaving industry of wage rates fixed by collective agreement. The original collective agreement, which is legally not enforceable, is thus nevertheless extended and made binding on all, whether organized or not. The Act was applied with success, and its period of validity has twice been prolonged, on the last occasion until 31st December, 1939. The experience of this Act led to further similar attempts. Mention may be made of the Road Haulage Wage Act of 1938, although what was extended under that Act was not a collective agreement in the strict sense; the procedure for the standardisation of working conditions is more in the nature of that adopted by trade boards.

In contrast with the procedure in Great Britain the development of the extension of collective agreements in France began with industry as a whole. There was a change of Government in France in May, 1936, and one of the leading points on the programme of the new Government was the encouragement of collective agreements, which were then scarcely utilised at all except in a few branches, such as mining, printing, the baking industry, and maritime navigation. In the "Matignon Agreements," of 7th and 8th June, the employers signified their readiness to conclude collective agreements immediately. This led to the Act of 24th June, 1936, which permitted the extension of collective agreements in any occupation or industry other than agriculture. Certain technical details were improved by Legislative Decrees of 2nd May and 12th November, 1938 (Part III, Section 19), and the legislation is constantly applied; on the whole, it works to the satisfaction of the employers as well as of the workers and has become rooted in the customs of the country. Out of a total of 5,378 collective agreements concluded between June, 1936 and 31st March, 1939, 337 have been extended; 1,352 applications for extension were made. Of 104 applications for extension of arbitration awards, 19 were granted up to 31st March, 1939.

The French initiative brought to a head plans that had been under discussion for some considerable time in the Canton of Geneva. On 24th October, 1936, the Canton passed an Act authorising the Government to extend a collective agreement to a whole occupation or industry. The intention here was not primarily to prevent competition between workers or at their expense, but the result was to promote the general adoption of holidays with pay, the payment of wages during military service, and sickness insurance, until the Act was declared void by the Swiss Federal Court on 4th March, 1938, for purely constitutional reasons.

Yugoslavia also made provision for the extension of collective agreements by an Order of 12th February, 1937. On 11th October, 1938, Ecuador adopted a comprehensive Labour Code in which provision is made for collective agreements and their extension. Luxembourg followed on 29th December, 1938.

In Switzerland a proposal is on foot to revise the "economic clauses" of the Federal Constitution; the Federal Council recommends the adoption of a provision which would permit collective agreements to be declared generally binding. A measure of the same kind limited to home workers is also recommended. Similar general legislation is under consideration in the Canton of Neuchâtel. Venezuela enacted legislation relating to collective agreements in the Labour Act of 1936, and provision for their extension is made in the new codification proposed in 1938. Quite recently the Belgian Government prepared a comprehensive Bill intended, among other things, to give statutory recognition to collective agreements and made provision for their being declared generally binding.

In Soviet Russia collective agreements have fallen into almost complete desuetude in recent years, and the relevant legislation (Section 16 of the Labour Code of 1922, consolidated in 1936) providing for collective agreements to be extended by law, therefore, need not be discussed. In Italy, collective agreements are by force of law (Act of 3rd April, 1936 and Labour Charter of 21st April, 1927) binding on all employers and workers of the category concerned. It is questionable, however, to what extent the Italian collective agreements can be regarded as agreements. They have become more and more legal regulations and are in the strict sense collective rules and regulations rather than agreements, and their main purpose is to carry out a Government wage policy.

Portugal introduced collective agreements as part of the National Labour Code of 23rd September, 1933; Section 33 makes the agreement generally binding once it has been approved by the highest corporative authorities and the Government. Bulgaria also makes collective agreements generally binding by law in accordance with the Legislative Decree of 22nd September, 1936 (Section 7). In both countries the system of collective agreements is still in its infancy, and agreements resemble a kind of minimum wage regulation under Government influence.—L. Hamburger in the *International Labour Review* (August, 1939).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE TRUST AS A FORM OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

Last year four of the plants belonging to the *Interessen-Gemeinschaft Farbenindustrie* (The German Dye Trust) celebrated their 75th anniversary, namely (1) Farhwerke vorm. Meister Lucius and Bruening, at Hoechst, (2) Farbenfabriken vorm. Friedr. Bayer & Co., at Leverkusen, (3) Kalle & Co., at Wiesbaden-Beibrich and (4) the Chemische Fabrik Griesheim-Elektron at Frankfurt. These four factories which were founded in 1863 are all parts of the original firms which went to form the biggest chemical concern of the day. The four companies were originally founded as a result of the revolutionary discoveries made in connection with aniline dyes. From the very beginning, based as they were on the most exact scientific research and the latest technical knowledge, they soon developed far beyond their initial scope. New fields were opened up such as the

manufacture of organic and inorganic intermediate products, therapeutic remedies, photographic articles, etc. The old plants were soon unable to meet the growing demands, so new ones were erected and their products came to be marketed all over the world. Branch factories were erected in European centres and overseas.

Jealous competition between the various German firms was instrumental in causing Professor Carl Duisberg, the founder of the big works at Leverkusen, to effect in 1904 a pooling of interests in the form of a trust (*Interessen-Gemeinschaft*, "I.G.") embodying all German dye factories, the ultimate aim of which was the incorporation of all into one big concern which would do away with all internal competition, friction and selfish greed for profits and make common effort at coping with common problems the guiding spirit. Three firms immediately joined the Trust, namely, (1) *Farbenfabriken vorm. Friedr. Bayer in Elberfeld*, (2) *Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik*, originally founded in Ludwigshafen in 1865, and (3) the *AG fuer Anilinfabrikation (AGFA)* formed in Berlin in 1873. The multitude of new activities and demands which the World War created for the German chemical industry, led to an extension in 1916 of the smaller IG of 1904 comprising the above-mentioned firms, to include the *Chemische Fabriken vorm. Weilerter Meer in Erdingen on the Rhine* (founded 1877) and the *Leopold Cassella & Co. in Frankfurt* which had been established as far back as 1815 as a firm importing cochineal, indigo and other natural dyes and since 1870 with a factory of its own at Mainkur. Carl Duisberg proceeded to effect an even closer consolidation, with the result that in 1925 through the fusion at first of 6 firms of the "I.G." and later on of others, the *I.G.-Farbenindustrie* emerged with a capital of 646 million RM (at present 720 million) with its main office at Frankfurt. The names of the individual firms were retained and registered as branch factories.

Since the reconstruction of political, social, and economic life in Germany, this powerful concern, whose interests extend beyond the boundaries of Germany through contracts and agreements concluded with other big chemical companies abroad, has been commissioned to introduce the most essential measures for the production of synthetic raw materials. Among the newer articles now taken up, or to be more exact, more intensively produced, are nitrogen, synthetic petrol, crude oil, lubricating oils, synthetic rubber, fibre wool, staple fibres, rayon, synthetic materials, light metals and tanning substances.

The founder of Leverkusen, Carl Duisberg, in erecting these works, paid full measure of tribute to the idea of "beauty in work" at a time when industrial plants were wont to be dull and dreary places without the least attempt at being attractive. He housed his people in garden colonies, fully realizing how essential for the success of such an enterprise is an inseparable association with its staff. It is eloquent of Duisberg's attitude to the Leverkusen shop, and to the people working in it, that he himself lived immediately opposite the factory as the first foreman, as it were, of the whole concern. He did not go and live in the nearby city but chose to be on the spot where he could be a part of the works and of that working community.

In 1925, when the "I.G." was founded, participation in the profits in the form of annual bonus according to the number of years of service was introduced, and in 1937, 98,429 recipients were paid out over 13.6 million RM. Aside from 21.8 million RM, subscriptions for social insurance payable under the Law, an additional 16.5 million RM were spent

on the financing of houses, subsistence farms, recreation rooms, canteens, social welfare and cultural pursuits and sport. To this must be added a further 41.2 million RM paid in pensions for ex-employees. The total funds thus spent in 1937 by the "I.G." in behalf of its employees amounted to 79.5 million RM. The community spirit forms the basis for every executive measure and arrangement in the realms of social welfare, whether this be concerned with medical inspection by factory physicians, the superintendence of health, particularly of apprentices and the younger workers, the activity of engineers to prevent accidents, in professional training or comradeship. Co-operation between the various offices connected with these pursuits forms the common foundation for the many social aspects of the factory community.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

ARTIFICIAL RUBBER IN WORLD-ECONOMY *

The uses of rubber in technical work are limited in extent, and that is why even in countries where there is no difficulty in obtaining the natural product research is bent upon evolving some superior material to take its place. The chief disadvantages of natural rubber are the following. Natural rubber is very sensitive to the action of all kinds of benzine and oil, which causes it to swell, perish and lose its resistance to friction and tearing. Again, it has very little heat-resistance so that its mechanical qualities begin to decrease even at temperatures from 89-90 degrees centigrade, while at temperatures for quite normal requirements, it perishes. Furthermore, natural rubber has a tendency to age, however carefully the mixing and finishing processes may have been carried out. Finally, the firmness of natural rubber will not stand up against friction to a sufficient extent for many forms of application. Obviously, then, in the synthesis of Buna (German artificial rubber) it was not the chemist's intention to produce a material exactly similar to natural rubber with all its advantages and disadvantages. Modern technical science is always making higher demands on new working materials; and it was, therefore, necessary to evolve a form of rubber which would be superior to the cheap natural product, above all, a form which would resist friction and be immune to the effects of benzine and oil. The German synthesis of Buna has shown how the internal structure of natural rubber may be varied so as to give the final product those qualities which are essential for specific purposes of application.

Rubber is a substance composed of molecules of hydrocarbon in which thousands of molecules of isopren are united in long chains. Knowledge of this structure showed the chemist how to obtain the Buna synthesis, in which a simpler relative of isopren, known as butadiene, was chosen instead of isopren for the smallest building-stones. In the butadiene chain, a number of other suitable molecules are inserted, and in this way the chemist is able to vary the characteristics of Buna and deliberately direct the synthesis so as to give it the requisite qualities. For example, one kind of Buna may be particularly resistant to the action of benzine and oil, another to friction and pressure, or to heat and age; while alternatively, all these qualities may be combined to a far higher degree than in the natural product. Buna has qualities of toughness.

* B. K. Sarkar : " Cotton's Synthetic Rivals " (*Calcutta Review*, August, 1939).

and resistance to an extent which the natural rubber does not possess. That is why it competes favourably with rubber and is so well adapted to many new and different fields of application. Buna thus fills a gap in the series of elastic materials. The four varieties of Buna which have already appeared on the market, all possess certain characteristics which make them particularly suitable in special fields of application. Their names are Buna 85, Buna 115, Buna S (tyre rubber) and Perbunan (or Buna N).

International business opinion has increasingly voiced its recognition of the advantages of Buna. The Genoese Senator, Engineer Tofani, member of the Corporation for the establishment of economic autarchy in Italy, expressed his opinion at a meeting of the Italian Senate to discuss a decree for the manufacture of synthetic rubber in Italy. He attributed an enormous degree of resistance—and, therefore, a longer period of wear—to the synthetic rubber motor-tyres in comparison with those made of natural rubber. And after referring to aluminium, artificial silk and synthetic dyes, he summed up by saying that “the wonders of chemistry have succeeded in banishing a great number of natural products from the markets.” As a direct result of the decree concerning the production of artificial rubber in Italy, two societies for the study and manufacture respectively of synthetic rubber were established in Milan in August, 1937, under the auspices of the *Società Italiana Pirelli*. Professor Girodan is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Study Society, while Senator A. Pirelli, the well-known motor-tyre manufacturer, is President of the Society for the Production of Synthetic Rubber.

The fact that the United States of America are attempting to catch up with Germany in the production of synthetic rubber is in itself a form of recognition. Up to now, they have succeeded in producing two different kinds, both of which like Buna are vulcanisable and evince rubber-like characteristics. These are Thiokol-rubber, produced by the Thiokol Corporation, Yardville, N.J., and Neoprene-rubber, manufactured by the E. J. Du Pont de Nemours Company. The latter, however, has the disadvantage that it cannot be regenerated. But the production of artificial rubber would never have been organized in the States, if experiments with Buna had not already proved its superior qualities, especially for the chemical and petroleum industries. Since America leads the world in both the motor-tyre and oil industries, considerations of quality must have been the reason for this decision.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that in the Dutch East Indies, one of the greatest rubber-producing countries in the world, a rubber factory in Surabaya has conducted experiments with Buna—in view of its resistance to the action of oil and lack of swelling tendencies. By means of these experiments, which were all successful, it was proved that packing-rings or washers made of natural rubber, when immersed in benzine, are apt to change in diameter while the Buna rings remain unchanged under the same condition.

Not so long ago, at a meeting in London, rubber experts belonging to the Research Association of British Rubber Manufacturers came to the same conclusions. On this occasion, there was some detailed discussion about the synthesis and qualities of synthetic rubber, in the course of which particulars were given concerning the behaviour of synthetic rubber as compared with that of the natural product. Opinion was unanimous that to-day, in consequence of the indisputably superior qualities of synthetic rubber, the natural product would have a hard struggle to maintain its leading place.

This was also admitted by the Governor of the United Malay States on the occasion of the opening of a new rubber research institute at Kuala Lumpur. It is very significant, indeed, that just in those parts of the world which will suffer most from the triumphant progress of Buna, so much anxiety is being manifested. England has now undertaken the manufacture of synthetic rubber on a large scale. After four years of laboratory work, the Imperial Chemical Industries have produced a rubber-like material which is composed of coal, limestone and salt. Since England has a vast amount of capital invested in rubber plantations, this move can only be explained by Buna's high qualities of resistance to the action of acids, bases, petroleum, oil, greases, rays and heat.

At the International Exhibition of Paris, 1937, Buna was one of the nine exhibits of the *I.G. Farben-Industrie* which were awarded the *Grand Prix*, the highest distinction of the Exhibition. Motorists can now obtain in ever-increasing numbers a tyre which is far superior in every way to that made of natural rubber. Thousands of Buna tyres have already traversed millions of miles, on mountain roads and, racing tracks as well as on both good and bad ordinary roads. Furthermore, Buna cannot be surpassed in its silent shock-absorbing qualities for machines and engines of all kinds, for pulleys, hot pipes, oil pipes, rollers, pressure-plates and for the increasing demands of the chemical and oil industries as well as for special types of clothing, footwear, packing and insulating materials. In any case, the foreign demand for special kinds of rubber is a proof that successful synthesis both endows and enriches world-trade and economy.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

FEEBLEMINDEDNESS AND STERILIZATION *

A paper on "Studies on the Historical and Local Development of Eugenic Sterilization in the United States" was presented by Prof. Harry H. Leughlin of Eugenics Research Association, New York, at the International Congress of Population (Berlin) in 1935.

These researches are purely objective and historical, they make no advocacy of specific policy. This present paper brings the legal, legislative and statistical records of eugenical sterilisation in the United States down to January 1, 1935.

The State, that is, one of the forty-eight States of the Federal Union, has the sovereign right, as the highest courts have amply held, to order the sexual sterilization of any potential parent within the State, provided this individual in personal qualities or in family-stock heredity falls below the human-stock standard set by the State for the hereditary endowment—physical, mental or spiritual—of its future citizens.

Sterilization as a modern agency for the prevention of reproduction by definite strains of degenerate human stocks began in the United States with the Indiana Statute of 1907.

In the field of sterilization, since the Indiana statute of 1907, thirty-one of the forty-eight individual States have enacted statutes of some sort, authorizing or requiring the eugenical sterilization of certain individuals who are members of some definite natural class of inadequates defined by law. Of these thirty-one States, twenty-eight now have either their original law

* From a talk at the Bengali Institute of Sociology on October 1, 1939.

or laws substantially revised and improved since the enactment of their first statutes.

The latest first-hand survey of the enforcement of the eugenical sterilization statutes for the several States show that 21,539 operations have been performed under these statutes up to January 1, 1935.

Some of the State Criteria for legal eugenical sterilization are indicated below :—

State.	Type of Patient.
Alabama	"Feebleminded"
Arizona	"Inmates of Hospital for Insane"
Delaware	"Mentally defectives, insane, feeble-minded or epileptic persons"
Indiana	"Hereditary insane, feebleminded or epileptic"
Maine	"Feebleminded"
Michigan	"Mentally defectives, insane"
Minnesota	"Feebleminded, insane"
Mississippi	"Persons with hereditary form of insanity, feeble-mindedness, idiocy, epilepsy"
Montana	"Feebleminded, insane, epileptic"
Nebraska	"Insane and feebleminded"
New Hampshire	"Feeble-mindedness or certain forms of other mental diseases"
North Carolina	"Mentally defective persons"
South Carolina	"Hereditary form of insanity, idiocy, imbecility, feeble-mindedness or epilepsy"
South Dakota	"Feebleminded"
Vermont	"Prevent procreation of idiots, imbeciles, feebleminded or insane persons"
Virginia	"Hereditary insanity, idiocy, imbecility, feeble-mindedness or epilepsy"
West Virginia	"Insanity, imbecility, epilepsy, idiocy"
Wisconsin	"Insane, feebleminded, epileptic and criminal persons"

The eugenical sterilization laws which have been upheld by the courts make no reference whatever to race, religion or punishment. Thus legalized sexual sterilisation, as developed by the several States in the United States, is purely a biological or eugenical institution. It recognizes the principle of heredity as a major factor in the certain types of hereditary degeneracy; it seeks to protect the quality of the future population of the State by removing certain individuals from the stock of parenthood of the next generation.

The matter of race and religion have not entered into the American statutes, and the penal element has been eliminated. The whole basis now, regardless of sex, race or religion, is the hereditary degeneracy of the particular family-stock.

Attention may be called likewise to the following statement in *Contemporary Social Problems* by Professor H. A. Phelps (New York, 1939, p. 348):—

“Eugenic sterilization is the prevention of procreation as distinguished from therapeutic sterilization, which is employed to improve the physical or mental condition of the person. The majority of state laws are eugenic, one-half are eugenic and therapeutic, while three states—California, Nebraska and Washington—authorise sterilization as a punishment for certain crimes. California has the record for the most extensive application of its sterilisation law.”

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

An Introduction to Indian Philosophy—By S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D. and D. M. Datta, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Calcutta University. Price Rs. 3-8. Pp. xviii & 464.

It is by no means an easy task to write an Introduction to Indian Philosophy which has undergone a vast and varied development during the last three millenniums, especially one primarily intended for beginners. I cannot but congratulate and envy the authors for their admirable performance with an unsurpassable lucidity of expression and a wonderful mastery over the subject. The preliminary difficulty in writing such a book lies in deciding once for all what of the various features of a system to retain and what to omit, what are the essential points and what are the non-essential. The authors have, I should say, exercised a sufficient amount of judiciousness in determining the scope of the work as a whole and of its individual chapters. Another great difficulty in accomplishing a task of this kind arises from the necessity of approaching the subject in a dispassionate scientific spirit, feeling at the same time a genuine broad-minded sympathy with the different problems of human life and thought, as discussed in the different systems. Here also the critic will have nothing to complain.

The work is divided into three parts represented by a general introduction, a brief sketch of the systems, and a detailed consideration of the subject, system by system. In the general introduction the authors have briefly discussed the basic features of Indian philosophy and the common characters of the Indian systems. The systems dealt with individually in different chapters comprise the Cārvāka, the Jaina, the Bauddha, the Nyāya, the Vaiśeṣika, the Sāṅkhya, the Yoga, the Pūrva- or Karma-Mimāṃsā, and the Uttara-Mimāṃsā or Vedānta.

In dealing with the individual systems the authors have followed the logical scheme of Mādhavācārya, without his sectarian bias. Upon the whole, they have tried to maintain the Jaina academical spirit in the *Śaddarśana-samuccaya*, and displayed the critical fairness of Vācaspati Miśra. They have followed the beaten track, although with a more intelligent grasp of the nature of the problems and a more enlightened vision of the entire field of Indian philosophical development. An introduction to Indian philosophy from a correct chronological, genetic or historical point of view is still a desideratum. The authors have ably argued in favour of the stronger points of Indian philosophy, and I can say that they have succeeded to some extent in making out a strong case for Indian philosophy, as against the philosophies of the West.

The authors have observed: "Indian Philosophy is marked by a striking breadth of outlook which only testifies to its unflinching devotion to the search for truth. Though there were many different schools and their views differed sometimes very widely, yet each school took care to learn the views of all the others and did not come to any conclusion before considering thoroughly what others had to say and how their points could be met. This spirit led to the formation of a method of philosophical discussion." It is difficult to see eye to eye with them in respect of this happy observation of theirs, for there are very few instances indeed where

the exponent of a system was fair either in the statement or in the interpretation of the position of the opponent. Indian philosophy has had its other defects that are mainly scientific, as Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan would have us understand. In my opinion, along with the strong points of Indian philosophy, its drawbacks should also be pointed out for a right guidance to a dispassionate study of Indian philosophy and a correct estimate of its value. But in the present state of things the authors have, perhaps, acted wisely by following the path of least resistance. I believe that the work, which is decidedly an improvement on anything attempted before in this line, will greatly serve to arouse a real enthusiasm for the study of Indian philosophy in all its depth and amplitude. There is not a better book in the field to give such a fascinating bird's-eye view of it with so much of fairness, simplicity and accuracy.

B. M. BARUA

Changing India—An anthology of writings from Raja Rammohan Ray to Jawaharlal Nehru. Edited by Raja Rao and Iqbal Singh. George Allen & Unwin. July, 1939. 5s. net.

How fast India is changing (that it is changing there is no doubt) is to be seen through the writings of Indians of eminence. And the editors have carefully selected men of eminence from different provinces and of different faiths who would bear witness to the transformation. But do we get "a comprehensive idea of the evolution of Indian thought in social, political and philosophical spheres during the first hundred years" as the editors seek to give? From the thirty-four excerpts presented to us it is difficult to say 'yes.' The prefatory note states the broad outline of the process of Western influence on India, but it is doubtful if the passages selected bear it out.

From Rammohan to Jawaharlal is a far cry, a distance not of one hundred years, but really a hundred and fifty. There have been notables in the interval whom we miss. Surendra Nath Banerjee, for example, or Ram Gopal Ghose, Sarojini Naidu or Ramesh Chandra Dutta—to refer only to Bengal. But all the stalwarts cannot be compressed into the pages of a single book, and much as we regret it, we cannot find fault with the editors on that score.

The biographical notes leave room for emendation. For example, that on Tilak omits to tell us anything about his connection with Fergusson College; Tagore's having obtained a Nobel Prize has not been mentioned at all; Radhakrishnan's link with the University of Calcutta is not mentioned at all, while his connection with Oxford has been stressed.

In spite of such minor blemishes, we offer our congratulations to the editors who have tried (and successfully) to represent India in some of its passing moods, and who offer some passages otherwise not accessible to the reader which have been penned by distinguished Indians.

P. R. SEN

Poet's Nook—By Hrishikesh Mullick. Published by M. N. Das, 41, Shashi Bhushan Day Street, Calcutta. Price Rupee One.

Mr. Mullick's poems do not strive after any ambitious effects. They are occasional pieces and whether they deal with the Taj or some abstract

subject like Hope or Oblivion, they give evidence of a refreshing attitude of faith and idealism which one does not usually find in poetry written in recent times. Mr. Mullick has a light touch and a memory well stored with his reading in English poetry, particularly of the early nineteenth century.

One has, however, to admit that the elusive spirit of poetry is rarely captured by us if we seek expression in a language not our own. Mr. Mullick has done his best, and it may be hoped that the book will not fail to divert a reader for a few minutes when he is suffering from an attack of boredom or ennui.

S. C. S.

Some Influences that made the British Administrative System in India—By M. Ruthnaswamy. Luzac & Co.

This is a big volume with a long title. But it does not bore the reader because he gets interesting material to pore over, right from the beginning to the end of the volume, dished out to him in the easy style which made the author's "The Making of the State" such an excellent book. Mr. Ruthnaswamy was Sir William Meyer Lecturer during 1936-37 at the University of Madras. The present volume is the outcome of the lectures delivered in that capacity. It deals with the main lines and discusses the factors in the development of British administration in India. The author makes too big a claim when he says, "the field of work represented here was almost untrodden." He himself has used a great deal of printed material and several secondary works. However, our thanks are due to him for giving to the students of the British period of Indian history much useful and interesting information in one place in an eminently readable style. The book, however, has suffered from want of an index, and the addition of a bibliography would have increased its value.

A. P. D. -G.

Baji Rao II and the East India Company—By P. C. Gupta. Oxford University Press. Rs. 7.

The task of rewriting the British period of Indian History is becoming every day easier and at the same time more imperative with the publication of monographs like the present one. This is a work for which the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been awarded to the author by the University of London and as such has stood successfully the scrutinizing gaze of competent examiners. Such works which have to be based on manuscript records supplemented by printed sources of information, original and secondary, and written under the guidance of those who are masters of the technique of research can scarcely fail to be sources of authentic information.

The author has chosen a complicated period of Maratha history for his researches. The last years of Maratha independence afford a most unpleasant picture of intrigue resulting in frequent changes of party alignments too baffling for any but the specialist in the subject. All these the author has depicted with clarity. Having utilised all available material, he has cleared up many doubtful points.

The author describes the confusion in Maratha affairs which followed the death of Madho Rao Narain and the circumstances under which Baji Rao II became Peshwa. The defeat of the Peshwa at the hands of Holkar at the battle of Poona drove him to accept the terms which were being pressed upon him by Lord Wellesley and to enter into the Treaty of Bassein

with the English. Baji Rao was re-instated as Peshwa by the English and Holkar's candidate Amrit Rao was pensioned off. As against the common assertion that Baji Rao never meant to observe the treaty into which he had entered for the sake of expediency, Dr. Gupta sees "no reason for saying that as yet he was particularly restive under British control," and points out that he possessed no authority that he could exercise in support of the English. But from the beginning of 1814 the Peshwa and the other Maratha Chiefs became restless under British control. The Peshwa began to negotiate with Ranjit Singh, Holkar, the Bhonsla and Sindia in order to build up a confederacy of Indian States against the British. The decisive event which finally led to hostilities was the murder of Gangadhar Sastri, the Gaekwar's envoy, and the complicity of Trimbakji Danglia in the crime.

Dr. Gupta does not think that Trimbakji was the principal instigator of the Sastri murder though he might have had a share in the crime, and believes that the plot originated not at Poona, but at the Gaekwar's Court. Anyway, Trimbakji was imprisoned but made a romantic escape from the Thana fort. Elphinstone was insistent that the Peshwa should yield up his favourite. Not until Poona was besieged by English troops did Baji Rao yield and issue orders for Trimbakji's arrest.

Baji Rao was forced to submit to the treaty of Poona and to declare the dissolution of the Maratha confederacy and to renounce all connexion with other Maratha powers. This was still more galling to the Peshwa who began to mature his plan for hostilities with the English. Then followed the battle of Knadki and the operations against the Bhonsla and Holkar and the final defeat of the Peshwa's army under Bapu Gokhale at Ashti. Baji Rao II surrendered to the English and was offered generous terms by Sir John Malcolm. The office of the Peshwa was abolished and Baji Rao was allowed to reside at Bithur near Cawnpore.

As against the black picture painted of Baji Rao II in the books that people usually read, it is refreshing to learn from this work that Baji Rao was "a handsome person, a good speaker and intensely religious in temperament," and that Mackintosh, comparing him with George III and Napoleon, says: "I have never been presented to three chiefs of nations, and in manner and appearance I must prefer the Mahratta."

Man is the product of environment and circumstances and Baji Rao II was no exception. In an atmosphere of intrigue it is impossible for ambitious people to keep out of dirty politics. Eighteenth century morality was not high either in England or in India, and perfidy and corruption were common in political life. Baji Rao II does not seem to have had an exceptional share of these vices.

A. P. D. -G.

Principles and Problems of Indian Legislation—By Rajani Kanta Das, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1938. pp. 281.

The work embodies a series of lectures delivered by the author as a Special Reader to the Calcutta University in 1937. Dr. Das opens these lectures with an historical survey of all that had been done in the field of labour legislation in the past so as to enable the reader to enter fully into the spirit of the legislation in recent times on the same subject, of which he gives a detailed account, discussing the principles involved.

Dr. Das's work contains a lucid exposition of all the aspects of labour legislation in India and an interesting summary of the procedure by which

it takes shape, being mainly a crystallization of public opinion and the recommendation of official bodies.

The work gives clear evidence of the author's wide range of acquaintance with official and non-official sources bearing on the subject and an insight into the problems connected with labour legislation in this country. As a manual of the important provisions regulating conditions of labour in India, the book will prove itself a valuable reference work. The section dealing with the social significance of labour legislation seems to be specially suggestive. In an appendix the author discusses the Congress labour programme. At the date these lectures were prepared, the Congress had not been long enough in office to develop any labour policy but ameliorative measures were even then being put through, the leadership in the direction being taken by Bombay which has made the greatest progress in industrialism in India.

The usefulness of the work has been increased by an index.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Cattle Wealth of India—By E. V. S. Maniam. Patt & Company, Publishers and Booksellers, Cawnpur. 1938 Pp. 123.

The author rightly emphasises the dependence of the vast majority of India's population on agriculture and the necessity of adopting measures for the economic relief of the peasantry as the surest means of securing the country's welfare. The problem with which he is specially concerned in the present work is, however, cattle breeding and dairy farming which are vitally connected with the improvement of agricultural conditions in India. The cattle in this country which are the most numerous in the world, although poor in quality, represent the principal item of the peasant's capital.

The scheme of village reconstruction and the improvement of the peasant's economic condition which Mr. Maniam offers in the book under review, consists in the adoption of a scientific system of cattle breeding and dairy farming. This, it is suggested, can be done by means of co-operative organisations along lines of those to be found in Denmark between which country and India the author notices important points of similarity. "Denmark," he tells us, "was exactly like India a few years back. The people were suffering from all kinds of privations but by well-planned . . . co-operative efforts she was able to raise herself so quickly." The author shows in detail how Denmark achieved her phenomenal progress to agricultural prosperity and how India can secure the same result by following in her foot-prints in a chapter entitled "India and Denmark." In the last chapter, "Co-operation—the Cure," the author largely builds upon the example of Denmark to show that the way out of poverty for the Indian peasant lies in the organisation of co-operative societies, rural industries and in improving cattle breeding, dairy farming, etc.

The book contains information of great value and the author who speaks on the basis of personal investigation is just sane and practical in the views he expresses. What he says about Denmark's immediate past is highly interesting and the conclusion that he draws that a parallel development will rescue India from the grip of poverty and despair is one to which we have no hesitation in subscribing. We are confident that all practical workers in the field will be benefited by Mr. Maniam's suggestions. His book deserves to be read by all who are interested in the welfare of the peasantry in India.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Ourselves

[I. *The Late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen.*—II. *Nomination of Fellows by H.E. the Chancellor.*—III. *Re-nomination of Fellows.*—IV. *Donation for Endowment of a Medal.*—V. *D.P.H. Examination (Part I), September, 1939.*—VI. *Teachers' Training Certificate (Science) Examination, July, 1939.*—VII. *Dr. A. Mitra Endowment Fund.*—VIII. *Bengal Industrial Research Board.*—IX. *Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India.*—X. *University Grants Aid to Hostel for Women Students.*—XI. *Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer (in Science) for 1939.*—XII. *Girishchandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1939.*—XIII. *Jagattarini Gold Medal for 1939.*—XIV. *Bhubanmohini Dasi Gold Medal for 1939.*]

I. THE LATE DR. DINESH CHANDRA SEN

We deeply regret to announce the death of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, which occurred at his residence at Behala on the 20th November last. The loss the country has sustained by his death is irreparable.

Dinesh Chandra Sen, son of Iswar Chandra Sen, a literary man of high principles and character and Ruplata Devi, a religious lady who came of a well-to-do family, was born at Bogjuri in Manikganj Subdivision on the 3rd November, 1866.

He lost his parents at the age of eighteen after passing the F.A. Examination of this University, and at that very early age he was compelled to earn a living, the more so as he married at the age of twelve and was the only son of his parents. He found employment as a teacher at the Habiganj High School, from where he passed the B.A. Examination with Honours in English as a private candidate. Soon after he joined the Victoria School, Comilla, as Head Master. It was here that the spirit of research first manifested itself in him and he undertook arduous tours into the interior of the province, collecting materials for a history of Bengali literature. It took seven years of strenuous labour to complete the work, which brought on a nervous break down rendering him invalid for more than three years. The book, which was published under the patronage of the Maharaja of Tipperah, met with an instant recognition and was hailed as an epoch-making contribution to Bengali literature. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee invited him to deliver a series of lectures on Bengali literature as a Reader to the University. This was the origin of his monumental work 'History of Bengali

Language and Literature,' published by the Calcutta University, which has earned him an international reputation. The association thus formed with the University continued and he was made a Member of the Senate. He was again appointed a Reader in 1913 when he delivered a course of lectures on the Vaishnava Literature of Medieval Bengal. From 1913-32 he was connected with the University as Ramtanu Research Fellow and delivered lectures every year on various aspects of Bengali Literature,—Chaitanya and his Age, Chaitanya and his Companions, The Bengali Ramayanas, Folk Literature of Bengal, Bengali Prose Style. It was also in this capacity that he was able to throw a flood of light on Bengal's past by the discovery of the Eastern Bengal Ballads which he compiled, translated and edited with long introductions in eight stately volumes. These ballads, some of which were translated into French by Madame Rolland, sister of Romain Rolland, have been enthusiastically appreciated all over the world by scholars and orientalists. After the organisation of Post-graduate course in the Bengali Language, he was appointed Head of the Bengali Department, a post which he held till his retirement in 1932. Next he wrote 'Brihat Banga', which has been published by the University in two portly volumes,—a work which attempts at offering an interpretation of Bengali culture in all its aspects and has been recognised for its erudition and insight.

Dr. Sen was admitted to the Doctorate in Literature, *honoris causa*, by this University in 1920 and he was a recipient of the Jagattarini Gold Medal in 1932. He was granted a Literary Pension by the Secretary of State for India which he enjoyed for over forty years. The title of Rai Bahadur was also conferred on him by Government in recognition of his contribution to Bengali literature.

Dr. Sen occupied a high and exalted position as writer in Bengali and his original contributions to Bengali Literature were both numerous and voluminous. He had a style of his own which was full of colour, life and warmth. Among his notable publications in Bengali, besides the Bangabhasa O Sahitya, mention may be made of Ramayani Katha, Dinabandhu, Sati, Behula, Phullara, Jarabharat, Dharadrone O Kushadhvaja, Mukta-churi, Rakhaler Rajgi, Raga-Ranga, Nilmanik, Oparer Alo,

Gharer Katha O Yuga Sahitya (autobiographical), Puratani, Baisakhi, Sajherbhog, Asutosh Smritikatha and Grihashri. He also brought out editions of the Ramayana and Mahabharata in Bengali, collating numerous manuscripts, and also prepared for the University two large volumes of typical selections from Old Bengali Manuscripts.

He was an enthusiastic collector of specimens of Bengal Art, and he spent large sums of money on this favourite hobby. Part of this collection was presented by him to the Maharaja of Tipperah and the remaining portion was offered by him to the University shortly before his death.

He has left a complete work entitled 'Banger Puranari', which will shortly appear with a biographical sketch.

Dr. Sen had to pass through great tribulations which he bore with courage and fortitude. He lived a simple and unassuming life, finding joy and happiness in his untiring literary activities. He lost his wife in 1936.

We offer our sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

* * *

II. NOMINATION OF FELLOWS BY H.E. THE CHANCELLOR

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate the undermentioned persons to be Ordinary Fellows of this University:—

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi in place of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. A. Khondkar (resigned).

Prof. Meghnad Saha, D.S.C., F.R.S., in place of Maharaja Sir Manmathanath Raychaudhuri (deceased).

Miss Sunitibala Gupta, B.A., B.T., M.ED., in place of Mrs. A. N. Chaudhuri on the expiry of her office as Fellow of the University.

Dr. Henry Thomas, M.A., PH.D., in place of Mr. A. F. Harvey (resigned).

Mr. Abdul Quasem, M.A., B.L., in place of Mr. R. N. Gilchrist (resigned).

Lt.-Col. A. C. Chatterjee, M.B., D.P.H., I.M.S., in place of Lt.-Col. E. H. Vere Hodge (left India).

Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M.A., B.L., M.L.A., in place of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice L. W. J. Costello (resigned).

III. RE-NOMINATION OF FELLOWS

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to re-nominate the following gentlemen to be Ordinary Fellows of this University :—

Khan Bahadur Tasadduq Ahmad, B.A., B.T., M.ED., whose term of office expired on the 17th July, 1939.

Rai Sir Badridas Goenka, Bahadur, C.I.E., whose term of office expired on the 17th July, 1939.

Major Dabiruddin Ahmad, O.B.E., L.M.S., V.H.S., A.I.R.O., whose term of office expired on the 12th September, 1939.

* * *

IV. DONATION FOR ENDOWMENT OF A MEDAL

Rai Bahadur Sureschandra Basu, retired District Magistrate, Faridabad, Dacca, has placed at the disposal of the University $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs, 3,000 so that a gold medal and a prize of books may annually be awarded in memory of his daughter Bhranti Basu out of the interest that will accrue to the fund.

* * *

V. D.P.H. EXAMINATION (Part I), SEPTEMBER, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 5, of whom 4 passed and 1 failed.

* * *

VI. TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE (Science) EXAMINATION, JULY, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 411, of whom 22 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 389, of whom 372 passed.

The percentage of pass is 95.1.

VII. DR. A. MITRA ENDOWMENT FUND

Our University has agreed to extend its co-operation to the A. Mitra Endowment Fund Committee, which will encourage research by Indians in the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta.

* * *

VIII. BENGAL INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH BOARD

The Bengal Industrial Research Board has requested the University to submit schemes for research of industrial value along with details about the laboratory where they may be carried out, the cost they will entail and the measure and importance of the results expected.

Two schemes have been forwarded by the University to the Bengal Industrial Research Board, one of which was prepared by Prof. Meghnad Saha and the other by Prof. S. K. Mitra.

The University has proposed that Professors Saha and Mitra may be invited to attend the meeting of the Board where the schemes will be discussed, to enable them to explain their views to the Board.

* * *

IX. CONVENTION OF THE TEACHERS OF THE DEAF IN INDIA

The Third General Conference of the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India will be held in Calcutta during Christmas week. Questions of academic interest relating to the education of the deaf from the point of view of Physical Science and Psychology will be discussed at this Conference.

* * *

X. UNIVERSITY GRANTS AID TO HOSTEL FOR WOMEN STUDENTS

The University has decided to contribute the sum of Rs. 1,800 in monthly instalments of Rs. 150 out of the Vihari Lal Mitra Fund to the All-India Women's Conference in connexion with the expenses of furnishing and maintaining the hostel for women students situated at P 261 Rashbihari Avenue, Ballygunge.

XI. ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER (in Science) for 1939

Dr. Nilratan Dhar, D.Sc., F.I.C. (Lond.), Professor of Chemistry, Allahabad University, who has been appointed Adharchandra Lecturer for 1939, will deliver a course of lectures on "Life: A Chemical Process."

* * *

XII. GIRISCHANDRA GHOSH LECTURER FOR 1939

Mr. Mahendranath Dutt, brother of Swami Vivekananda, has been appointed Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1939. The subject of his lectures will be "Girischandra: His Mind and Art."

* * *

XIII. JAGATTARINI GOLD MEDAL FOR 1939

The Jagattarini Gold Medal for 1939 will be awarded to Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A., for original contribution to Bengali literature.

* * *

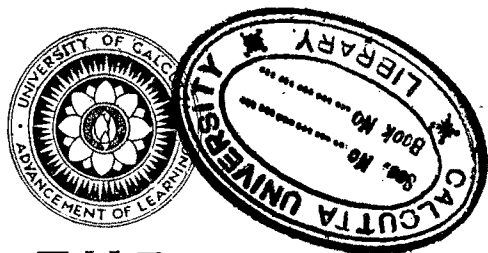
XIV. BHUBANMOHINI DASI GOLD MEDAL FOR 1939

The Bhubanmohini Dasi Gold Medal for 1939 will be awarded to Srimati Nirupama Devi for original contribution to Bengali literature.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—



H. E. SIR JOHN ARTHUR HERBERT, G. C. I. E.
Chancellor, Calcutta University



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1939

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RAY

II

PLAYERS AND PLAYWRIGHTS HELD IN CONTEMPT

IN the days of Elizabeth when English literature was just budding forth, the position of those who had to depend mainly on the stage either as players or playwrights was on the whole depressing and discouraging. The general mass of the people, no doubt, appreciated stage-representations but the nobility and the higher classes of the society always looked upon the profession of playwriting and acting as simply humiliating.

The low position of poets and dramatists will be vividly evidenced by the lament of Lyly, Spenser, Dekker and others. John Lyly, who had influential connections at court and whose *Eupheus and his England* had the vogue at one time among fashionable circles, had to dance attendance at the queen's antechamber in vain for a bit of favour and in disgust and despair left London to retire into country-life from where he addressed the following epistle to the queen :

“ Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign. A thousand hopes, but all nothing. A hundred promises, but yet nothing. Thus

casting up an inventory of my friends, hopes, promises and times the sum-total amounteth to just nothing. My last will is shorter than my invention. But three legacies I bequeath, patience to my creditors, melancholy without measure to my friends and beggary without shame to my family."

Pursuit of literature—poetic or dramatic—was no honourable vocation in those days and poets there were many who died poor and unnoticed. Of Peele,¹ who was a noted *litterateur* of the Elizabethan England, Anthony Wood observes: "A most noted poet, 1579, but when or where he died, I cannot tell, for so it is and always hath been that most poets die poor and consequently obscurely, and a hard matter it is to trace them to their grave." Spenser, whose *Fairie Queene* was held in the highest estimation by the most appreciative and critical readers of his time and was assigned a recognised place only next to Chaucer (b. 1328, d. 1400) in the hierarchy of poets, was often forced to complain of his ill-luck :

"To lose good days, that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed today, to be put back tomorrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow
To have thy asking, yet wait many years
To fret thy soul with crossles and with cares
To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
To spend, to give, to want to be undone.
Unhappy wight, born to disastrous end,
That both his lift in so long tendance spend."²

The author of *Return from Parnassus* rebukes his country for refusing maintenance to this merited poet and calls her an ungrateful country; Camden, the famous teacher of Ben Jonson, asserts that Spenser died in great poverty in 1598 and is supported in his assertion by two other poets of note who flourished at the same time with

¹ In 1596 Peele after 'long sickness' sent a begging letter by his daughter to Lord Burghley with a copy of his *Tale of Troy*.—E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. III, p. 485.

² Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, II, 898-909.

Spenser. One is the famous John Weever who notes in an epigram (1598) that

“ Spenser is ruined, of our latest time
The fairest ruin, Faeries foulest want.”

The other is Phineas Fletcher who observed of Spenser in his *Purple Island*:

“ Poorly, poor man, he lived; poorly, poor man, he died ! ”¹

George Brandes appropriately tells us that the poets of that time “ did not live on royalties, but on their dedication ” which, apart from being extremely precarious, could seldom fetch any handsome emoluments from the patrons.

It should not be forgotten, however, that, compared to a dramatist, the social position of a poet was somewhat higher: while a poet could aspire to sit on the same table with the gentry and nobility, the dramatist was never allowed a like privilege. Thus we find the following direction given by a Lord to his servant in *The Taming of the Shrew*:

“ Go, sirrah, take them to the buttery,
And give them friendly welcome, everyone.”

Pope in his preface to his edition of Shakespeare (1725) had evidently the above in his mind when he observed:

“ As then the best playhouses were inns and taverns, so the top of the profession were then mere players, not gentlemen of the stage: they were led into the buttery by the steward; not placed at the lord's table, or lady's toilette.”

Among the Elizabethan dramatists Ben Jonson was, however, the only exception and enjoyed rather a higher position, perhaps due to his erudite scholarship and encyclopædic learning.

Books written in English language, not to speak of English dramas alone, were in those days reckoned as inferior to those written in Latin and Greek. Thus Rev. T. M. Lindsay appropriately holds: “ The enthusiasts of the classical renaissance, who had spent time and

¹ There is a statement in Malone, *Plays and Poems of Shakespeare* (Vol. II, p. 417), that Spenser was granted a pension of £50 a year by the Queen in 1590-91 but in face of the authoritative declarations of Camden, Weever and Phineas Fletcher—all Spenser's contemporaries—we cannot but conclude that even this pension of the sovereign went very little to satisfy his wants, more specially when he was married.

pains in mastering the secrets of style of the literary artists of antiquity, were somewhat disdainful of their mother tongues. They were inclined to believe that cultured thought could only find fit expression in the apt words, deft phrases and rythmical cadences of the revived languages of ancient Rome.”¹ Similarly G. Brandes observes : “ There was all the difference in the world between a ‘ playwright ’ and a real poet. When Sir Thomas Bodley, about the year 1600, extended and remodelled the old University library, and gave it his name, he decreed that no such ‘ riffe-raffes ’ as play books should ever find admittance to it.”²

In his attempts to explain the reasons of the general customs of publishing plays anonymously Steevens in his famous preface puts forth : “ We must remember that very many old plays are anonymous and that playwriting was scarcely yet thought reputable : nay, some authors express for it great horrors of repentance.”

Lodge, born indeed of a high parentage (he was the son of a Lord Mayor), took to playwriting and went so far as to defend it from the pointed strictures of the Puritans.³ But the disgrace which the dramatist of the day was submitted to, for his simply being a dramatist and for no other reason, told heavily upon him and, repentant, he resolved to “ write no more whence shame doth grow.”⁴

Thus leaving dramatic production once for all he took up medicine as his profession. No less significant is the fact that Marston who was a powerful dramatist of his age dedicated all his plays to oblivion and himself quitted the stage for the Church, apparently for the contempt with which he as a dramatist was looked upon.

Instances can be multiplied to show that even the playwrights themselves regarded their profession disreputable. In the early part of Shakespeare's career neither actors nor dramatists regarded plays as literature. Greene, the celebrated dramatist of his time, usually referred to plays as ‘ vanities,’ considered playwriting as the “ basest efforts of life ” and was surely ashamed of his dependence on “ so mean a stay ” for bare livelihood. Dickinson in his introduction to the

¹ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III.

² *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. 67

³ See *Calcutta Review*, November, 1939, p. 139.

⁴ “ To write no more whence Shame doth grow,
Or tie my pen to penny-knave delight,
But live with fame, and so far fame to write.”

Scillae's *Metamorphosis* (1589).

Life and Works of Greene (Mermaid series) holds rightly that "The playwrights abominated the actors even more than they distrusted each other."

Dekker and Nashe's career throws a flood of light on the general 'penuriousness' of their class. With utmost efforts Dekker, Nashe, Peele and Greene could scarcely keep the wolf from the door and both Dekker and Nashe were gaoled for debts and the former spent seven long years in prison.¹ Of course as a class the Elizabethan playwrights were unthriftly and most of them used to lead a Bohemian life. In *A Quip for Upstart Courtier* Greene gives a fine picture of the life a poet of the day would lead, and the present author cannot but quote a few lines from it:

"A poet is a waste good and an unthrift that he was born to make the tavern rich and himself a beggar. If he has forty pounds in his purse together, he puts it not to usury, neither buys land nor merchandise with it but a month's commodity of wenches and capons. He is a king of his pleasure and counts all other boors and peasants that though they have money at command, yet know not like him how to domineer with it to any purpose as they should. But to speak plainly, I think him an honest man if he would but live within his compass and generally no man's foe but his own."

What a frank confession indeed! "Within the framework of a dream, Dekker records his misery and unhappiness, and even through the intense agony of mind there shines a spirit that refuses to be crushed by the misfortunes of life."² In his *Sun's Darling* (1624) he expresses his sentiment in the following lines:

"Money is trash and he that will spend it
Let him drink merrily, fortune will send it."

And this may well represent the philosophy of life of the majority of Elizabethan dramatists. Their poor and obscure ends were to a great extent due to this Bohemian nature of theirs but on the whole their income out of their profession was by no means enviable and they had ever to remain hungry.

¹ The following entry to be found in Henslowe is given: "Lent unto the Company the 4th February, 1598 to discharge Mr. Dekker out of the Counter in the poultry the sum of 40s. I saydd to Thomas Downton."—*Henslowe's Diary*, Vol. I (W. W. Greg), p. 83.

² W. J. Halliday—Introduction to *Shoemaker's Holiday*.

Phillip Henslowe, the usurer, pawnbroker and keeper of bear-gardens, who could scarcely spell a word correctly, opened theatres and as a theatre-manager engaged the hungry troop of hack-writers, which included no less a person than Ben Jonson. This capitalistic theatrical business of Henslowe saved many a playwright from utter ruin and the dramatists though they were compelled to write for Henslowe practically on starvation-wages found a real friend and patron in him. Henslowe used to keep records of payments made by him and this record now known by the name of *Henslowe's Diary* affords us a most faithful evidence as to the state of the London stage in the latter part of the sixteenth century. One has only to glance through *Henslowe's Diary* to get an idea of the narrow circumstances of the Elizabethan dramatists. Chettle, Dekker, Drayton, Munday, Chapman, Jonson, Heywood, Wilson, Massinger, Middleton and Webster were all among the beneficiaries of Henslowe. Even such a prolific writer as Heywood,¹ who throughout his pretty long career lived, moved and had his being in the stage-atmosphere, bound himself under contract with Henslowe as a mere "Hierling" in consideration of a scanty sum of money.

The original terms of the contract may be found interesting and is reproduced here:

"Mr. That this 25 of march, 1598 Thomas hawwood came and hiered himsealfe wth me as a covenante searvante for ij yeares by the recevenge of ij single pence according to the statute of Winchester & to begine at the daye or bone written and not to play any wher publicke a bowt london not whille these ij years be expired but in my howse yf he do then he doth forfeit unto me by the Recevinge of thes ij fortie powndes."

Leaving aside the dramatists, if we turn our attention to the actors who represented what others wanted them to speak, we shall not fail

¹ J. A. Symonds complains (Mermaid series) that "little else is known about his life, and though it is certain that he lived to a ripe age we are ignorant of the date of his death." It needs be remembered here that Heywood was a popular playwright of his time but very little interest was taken of his life and career possibly because of his taking up of dramatic profession.

Similarly W. J. Halliday observes of Dekker in the following terms: "Nothing is known of his life after 1632, and it is generally assumed that he died sometime between that year and 1640. . . . If the known facts of Dekker's life are disappointingly few, his works are a treasure-house of the life and character of the man."

Cf. also Anthony Wood's reference to Peele, *ante*, p. 247.

to notice that in Florio's¹ translation of *Montaigne's Essays* (1603) actors have been referred to as 'base-rascals, vagabond abjects and porterly hirelings,' though Ned Alleyn and later on Richard Burbadge were often compared with Roscius. Indeed, as Ward says of an average actor who used to take up dramatic profession at that time, "A prospect opened of modest gain, unaccompanied however by that of dignified social position; and here too a golden opportunity of displaying the full vigour of conscious genius awaited him who would not shrink from toils and troubles of an inevitable apprenticeship."—*History of Dramatic Literature*, Vol. I.

The greatest poet of human passion could not conceal his own passion and considering his own sad position had to bewail and bemoan his ill-luck in the most pitiful terms:

"When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,
I all alone beweepe my outcast state
And troubles deaf heaven with my bootless cries,
And look upon myself and curse my fate
Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,
Featured like him, like him with friend's possess'd,
Desiring this man's art, and that man's scope,
With what I most enjoy contented least;
Yet in those thoughts myself almost despising;"²

and again,

"That did not better for my life provide
Than public means which public manner breeds."³

Hence no wonder that he would rightly exclaim to be "shamed by that which I bring forth."

The respectability and fashionableness or otherwise of the plays may well be judged from altogether a different angle of vision, namely, the status of the people who generally visited the performances at the time of Shakespeare and his predecessors such as Marlowe, Kyd, Peele, Greene and others. Undoubtedly some of the plays were acted at the first instance before a learned and cultured audience in

¹ It is, indeed, noteworthy that Florio, like Shakespeare, was a protégé of the Earl of Southampton and as such he must have come into intimate contact with the latter. How Florio could write so contemptibly of players, knowing full well that Shakespeare was then in the zenith of his fame as a dramatic poet and had not as yet ceased to be a player; it being definitely known that he appeared in Jonson's *Sejanus* played in the Globe Theatre in 1603, is not very clear.

² Sonnet No. XXIX.

³ Sonnet No. CXI.

the universities, the court and in noblemen's apartments but the 'box office' return came mainly from the uneducated and uncultured. In the *Gull's Horne-Booke* (1609) Dekker incidentally remarks of the audience that "your groundlings and gallery-commoner buys his sport by the penny; and like a haggler is glad to utter it again by retailing." Gosson in his *School of Abuse* (1579) accused the theatre¹ as a "general market for bawdry." No wonder, then, that the ladies witnessing a theatrical performance would put on a mask to conceal their identity.' In *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (1603) the following lines occur:

"I like the audience that frequented there
With much applause, a man shall not be chocked
With stench of garlick."²

Shakespeare too records his contempt for the vulgar which constituted in those days the major bulk of the audience. Thus we notice Shakespeare's Hamlet saying to the player:

"O! it offends me to the soul to hear a robustious periwig pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings, who for the most part, are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb shows, and noise."³

In *Anthony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare speaks of the masses:

"In their thick breaths
Rank of Gross diet, shall we be enclouded
And forced to drink their vapours.

In *Coriolanus* our poet refers to the masses in a rather contemptible term, e.g., "The breath of garlic eaters," and so forth.

In *Julius Caesar* we come across:

"If the tag-rag people did not clap him and hiss him, according as he pleased or displeased them, as they use to do the players in the theatre, I am no true man."⁴

Then again in the 2nd quarto impression of *Troilus and Cressida* (1608-09) occur the following remark: "Never stal'd with the stage,

¹ "The Theatre," the first public playhouse in London, was opened by James Burbadge in the year 1576.

² Quoted from Malone (1821), Vol. II, pp. 192-93.

³ *Hamlet*, 3 ii, 1-15.

⁴ *Julius Caesar*, I, ii, 260-64.

never clapper-claw'd with the plumes of the vulgur." All these examples go to show that plays in times of Shakespeare were more popular among the lower classes than the higher ones.

Chapman, too, hates the groundlings and in a dedicatory epistle boastfully observes:—

"The profane multitude I hate, and only consecrate my strange poems to those searching spirits, whom learning hath made noble and nobility sacred."

It should be noted, however, that the audience was not entirely composed of the groundlings. As time rolled on drama was gaining popularity among the gentry too and when the sovereign sought solace in theatrical performances the nobility could not but lend its support to them. Thus there was a sprinkling of the cultured youngmen of higher classes or the young gallants among the audience. "It (audience) included, however, Walsinghams and Southamptons, refined and intellectual admirers of the drama, and their numbers must have exceeded those of the Sidneys who scoffed and of the Northbrookes who railed."—*Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. VI, p. 272. In his public apology to Shakespeare, Chettle speaks of "his facetious grace in writing that approves his art." The term 'facetious grace' undoubtedly hints at the better sort of the audience that interested themselves in Shakespeare's productions.¹ Casual references in contemporary records would, however, show that even the nobility resorted to theatres as a favourite recreation. Thus we find the complaint that the Earl of Southampton and his friend Lord Rutland do not "come to court but pass away the time merely in going to plays every day."

It would thus appear from what has been said above that when Shakespeare began his career early in 1590-91, Kyd, Marlowe, Nashe, Peele, Greene and subsequent to them Lyly—all his predecessors—broke the ice and earned for drama a somewhat recognised place in literature. But even at that time drama could not gain universal recognition; the Earl of Leicester's company, of which Shakespeare may already have been a member, was paid to go away from the University.² Shakespeare

¹ In an article "The Elizabethan Shakespeare," J. Dover Wilson remarks: "Indeed facetious grace most happily describes those qualities in Shakespeare's early plays which would especially appeal to the cultured men of high rank, who, as Chettle hints, were interesting themselves in the rising dramatist's fortunes."—*Aspects of Shakespeare*, p. 221.

² Boas, *Shakespeare and the Universities*, p. 41.

did not take much time to realise it, and published his poems *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), which at once brought him fame as a poet of high merit. Contemporary records contain numerous allusions testifying to the popularity of these poetic ventures of Shakespeare. Burton, author of the *Anatomie of Melancholy*, though a great classical scholar, has several references to Shakespeare both as a poet and as a comedian.

This article goes to show why it is that we know so little about Shakespeare and his predecessors and contemporaries. As the dramatists were not highly thought of and were assigned a low position in society, we naturally get very little information about their lives. It is only when accidentally a dramatist happens to be connected with a scandal, *e.g.*, the tragic end of Marlowe at an early age,¹ also when a dramatist happens to have correspondences with a statesman of note, some authentic account of his is preserved in statepapers.²

¹ Christopher Marlowe was stabbed to death by a rival of his in his 'fawde love.' S. Lee, article on Marlowe, *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² John Heywood was born towards the close of the fifteenth century in 1497 or 1498. In a letter to Burghley, from Malines (18th April, 1575), he speaks of himself as of seventy-eight years of age. At an early age he entered the royal service probably as a chorister. On 6th January, 1514-15, he is set down in *The Book of Payments* of Henry VIII as receiving wages 8d. per day. The state papers of the ensuing period contain a number of references to him in his exile.—*Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. V, pp. 89-90. Some details of Spenser's life have come down to us because of his holding an important office of the Secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN CONGRESS PROVINCES

PROFESSOR H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

*Fellow, Calcutta University,
President, Bengal Evangelistic Mission,
President, Baptist Lay Association, Bengal,
Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal,
President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians.*

AT the invitation of the different Provincial Indian Christian Associations I have of late been visiting various parts of India where I have been the grateful recipient of most generous hospitality not only from the members of my own community but, what is a source of very great gratification to me, from our non-Christian brethren—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and even Jain. In some places I have been the guest of the exceedingly well-to-do and in other places in order to examine for myself the conditions prevailing in rural areas I have chosen to be the guest, always welcome, of agriculturists—Christian, Muslim, Hindu, and, on one occasion, Sikh. But my largest contacts have naturally been with Indian Christians belonging to the middle classes in all parts of India. It would be invidious to mention names where every one was so kind to me and most cheerfully pressed me to accept the very best of what they had. I, therefore, wish to convey to all of them my gratitude for the graceful hospitality showered on me. I am still more grateful for the very extensive conveniences placed at my disposal for conducting my enquiries into some of the economic problems with which we are faced to-day and the ways in which they are sought to be solved in different parts of India. The problems of finding remunerative spare-time occupation for the agriculturist and of solving unemployment among the less educated were two matters which engaged my attention during my investigations.

My task was rendered comparatively easy as, in all or nearly all the places and the institutions I visited, I found Indian Christians working generally in an honorary capacity. Nor was assistance in my enquiries wanting from my numerous non-Christian hosts and friends. They always made all arrangements, which lay in their power to make my investigations as easy and pleasant as possible.

Congressmen from Ministers down to village workers were equally kind to me.

If it is asked why the subject I have chosen for this article possesses such an engrossing interest for me, I would in reply state that out of the 75 lakhs of Indian Christians we have in India to-day, not more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 lakhs live in urban areas and earn their living by following urban occupations. The problems of the rural Indian Christian are in no way different from the problems of the rural non-Christian. Any measure such as encouragement of cottage industries calculated to benefit the rural non-Christian must of necessity benefit the rural Indian Christian. I have come to feel that the growth of nationalism in my small and humble community to-day is really due to the recognition of this fundamental fact—something often lost sight of in the deplorable communal struggle between the two major communities now going on in our motherland. We appreciate the very important fact that, as our economic and political interests are identical, we too have to share the labour involved in every programme intended for the amelioration of the masses and, as a community, we are prepared to do so cheerfully. But we can hardly thrust ourselves in till our services are requisitioned.

It will be noticed that I have confined myself to a description of what was being done in the Congress provinces and also that I have said nothing about the activities of the Congress Coalition Government of Assam. The reason for dealing with the Congress provinces is that so far as the Indian Christian community is concerned, about 5 lakhs only out of a total population of 60 to 65 lakhs living in British India are to be found in the three non-Congress provinces of Bengal, Punjab and Sind. From the All-India standpoint, the interest of the Indian Christian lies more in the Congress than in the non-Congress provinces. No description of the work done in Assam has been attempted because, though I am familiar with the province various parts of which I visited every year when I was Inspector of Colleges for the Calcutta University, I have not been there for the last three years. As I have no personal knowledge of matters as they stand there at present, I have intentionally refrained from saying anything about the work done in this province. The North-West Frontier Province has also been omitted for a similar reason. In what follows, I have tried to make my account descriptive rather than critical which latter would naturally imply the institution of comparisons between the value of the work

done in the different provinces and assessment of the benefits they have conferred on the masses. I have done so because I feel that my knowledge is not sufficiently intimate to enable me to arrive at a fairly accurate estimate of the value of the work.

I consider it necessary that I should make it absolutely clear that the account I am giving makes no claim to be a complete one. Any attempt in this direction would have entailed a thorough study of all types of activities for which I had neither the time nor the opportunity. I have, therefore, tried to touch what may be called the "high lights" only. I have, however, visited practically all the institutions referred to below. Almost all the facts and figures offered were supplied by the ladies and gentlemen connected with this type of activity either in an honorary or a paid capacity but some are taken from official records.

While the account which follows makes no pretension to be a complete and an adequate one, it does claim to be a fairly accurate description of what was attempted in the different provinces referred to below. I should be sorry indeed if the inadequacy of the account should give rise to the impression that these activities are confined to the items referred to below. It is, therefore, that I would once again emphasise the fact that in what follows I have attempted to describe what came under my notice, what my attention was drawn to by my numerous friends who are to-day playing their part in national reconstruction of this type and what possessed special interest for me either on account of my personal predilections or because of their probable utility to the poorer members of my community.

BIHAR

As soon as the Congress Cabinet took charge of administrative work, it turned its attention to the task of encouraging hand-spinning and hand-weaving specially in rural areas. With this end in view, it sanctioned Rs. 30,000, which is being spent through the All-India Spinners' Association to organise the production and distribution of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth on a large scale and also to extend the work to new areas. In addition to this amount, a special grant of a further sum of Rs. 10,000 was made to the Ranchi Weavers' Co-operative Stores in order to enable it to rehabilitate its affairs and to assist the development of the handloom industry in Chota-Nagpur the interests of which, the more progressive among its inhabitants complained, had not been properly looked after previously.

This type of good work has also been introduced in jails. For instance, at the Central Jail, Bhagalpur, carding and spinning by power for manufacturing woollen goods and charka spinning for Khaddar are now in use. The quantity produced is more than sufficient to meet all the requirements of the prisoners confined in this jail. It has supplied a considerable amount of yarn to the Gaya Central Jail to enable it to increase its outturn of Khadi. It is understood that needy prisoners of the Bhagalpur Central Jail at the time of their release are being supplied free with Khaddar clothing. The female prisoners are also being taught charka spinning. In the year ended the 31st March, 1939, the prisoners were able to weave 3,000 yards of Khaddar with thread spun by themselves. In addition to the above, the prisoners are being taught to rear, ere and to spin and weave *eri* silk and *tassar*. Lastly, arrangements have been made to teach the following handicrafts to prisoners: blacksmithy, carpentry, cane work, tailoring, dyeing and tape weaving. They are turning out useful iron and wooden articles for household use and are also manufacturing furniture which is finding ready sale.

The Bihar Cottage Industries Marketing Organisation is giving publicity to the hand-woven textiles of this province in different ways and through many agencies with the result that last year goods worth 1½ lakhs were sold. More than 60 new attractive designs were added to the standard list of patterns and it is expected that next year the sales will be higher still.

In order to encourage the production of Khadi, the Bihar Government has passed orders that the uniforms of peons, orderlies and the police should be of Khaddar. Further, the Khaddar (Name Protection) Act, 1934, has been brought into operation in this province in order to afford protection to the names "Khaddar" and "Khadi" as trade descriptions for "cloth woven on handlooms in India from cotton yarn spun in India."

Finding that the development of the indigenous silk industry was being hindered by the use of cheap imported spun silk, the Congress Government had installed a silk twisting plant at Bhagalpur at a cost of Rs. 15,000 non-recurring and Rs. 3,500 recurring. Two stations, one in Manbhum district and the other in the Santhal Parganas, have been started to supply *tassar* silk eggs to the *tassar* silk rearers residing in villages situated in the interior. Small bonuses have also been given to the mulberry silk rearers of Purnea district.

Attention is being paid to expanding the inland fishery industry which provides a welcome addition to the income of the small agriculturist. Patna and Ranchi are the two centres from which fry is being supplied to every part of the province. Last year, Bihar exported more than 60,000 maunds of fish. It has been found that North Bihar is making rapid progress and that there is a revival of the fish trade in South Bihar. But as Chota-Nagpur has always been backward in this particular direction, a strenuous attempt is being made to introduce pisciculture in it.

The Congress Cabinet was making elaborate arrangements for technical and industrial training. It is outside the scope of this article to mention anything about the facilities created for instruction in medium and large scale industries with which we are not concerned here. But so far as training men for developing cottage industries is concerned, we find that the arrangements include theoretical and practical training for educating young men belonging to the middle classes in technical and what may be called bias schools, practical training only for the less educated boys of the middle classes, general and vocational education for women and industrial training for aboriginals and Harijans.

In addition to the Cottage Industries Institute at Patna, the Congress Government is contemplating the establishment of handicraft schools at Pusa and Purulia and the expansion of the industrial chemistry class in the Science College, Patna. In all these places, both theoretical and practical instructions are and will be given to the educated young men who might be willing to take up cottage industries and to run them on modern lines. Arrangements have also been made for the training of undergraduates in press work and of matriculates in compositors' work at the Central Government Press. For middle class boys who lack the necessary intelligence and brains, special arrangements have been made in the five vocational schools situated in different parts of the province for giving them training in different types of home industries. For this they have been given special grants which last year came up to Rs. 10,000.

In order to train middle class young men in improved methods of tanning and leather work, two demonstration parties have been started at an approximate cost of Rs. 7,000 recurring and Rs. 1,500 non-recurring. These are visiting different areas and teaching new methods to middle class people. It is hoped that they will, in their

turn, start small tanneries and leather works in which they will employ the poor *moochees* and *chamars* who are now without an adequate amount of work. With the same end in view, special classes to teach the manufacture of writing and blotting paper have been opened in Patna where there are arrangements for a six months' course which, last year, was taken advantage of by some young men. It is understood that some of them have already placed their hand-made paper on the market though it cannot be said that it is commanding a sufficiently large sale.

So far as the technical education of women is concerned, some public spirited women have started the Aghore Nari Silpa Pratisthan in which regular courses for teaching different industries have been organised. Here tuition is free. Facilities to enable students to earn while they learn in the shape of the sale proceeds of their work have been provided. At present instruction is being given in weaving, tailoring, auto-knitting and leather work. It is proposed to add toy-making, cane work, wool spinning and weaving and carpet weaving in the near future. The Bihar Government has made grants to this institution in order to encourage the good work that is being done through public initiative.

As for the encouragement of technical and vocational training among the aboriginals, we find that since coming into power the Congress Cabinet has spent regularly every year Rs. 10,000 for stipends and scholarships to students coming from these classes for this particular purpose. As stated elsewhere, Government has also made a special grant of Rs. 10,000 to the Weavers' Co-operative Society of Ranchi in order that it might take its part in the development of handloom industry and thus provide a remunerative employment for those living in rural areas in this part of Bihar. But their concern for the well-being of these people has not ended here. In order to help the women-workers in the Jharia Coal fields who are generally of aboriginal stock and who, as the result of recent legislation, are not permitted to work underground and have thus lost remunerative employment, Government has started two handicrafts institutes where they are being taught weaving and basket making. This has entailed a recurring expenditure of about Rs. 10,000 per year.

So far as the Harijans are concerned, the Bihar Government is spending about Rs. 23,000 per year for special stipends for 'general' education of Harijan young men. These are not showing much

eagerness for industrial training but, none the less, Government has provided Rs. 1,200 for stipends only. Harijans are permitted to join any of the Government or aided institutions where vocational and technical instruction is imparted free of charge. The stipends are meant to cover their other expenses.

Realising that many honest, hard-working and reliable young men are unable to utilise their technical knowledge for want of capital, the Bihar Government is setting apart Rs. 6,000 every year to render them financial aid. It is also making grants averaging Rs. 13,000 per year to the Commercial Museum situated in the capital of the province in order to enlarge its usefulness in developing the commerce and industries of the province.

The Congress Ministry of Bihar as members of the middle classes in daily touch with the masses were aware that Bihar did not produce sufficient food to meet its own requirements and that industrial development was the only practical solution of the problem with which the province is faced. Bihar was fortunate in having a minister of the type of Dr. Syed Mahmud in charge of Development. While it is the duty of every Bihari to trust him and to give him an opportunity of working out the ideas he has put forth in his book on the reconstruction of his province, it is the privilege of every patriotic Indian to wish him all success in the arduous and noble task he has set himself.

UNITED PROVINCES

When the Congress came into power in the U.P., it immediately budgetted Rs. 10,000 for financing an industrial survey of the province. The Industrial policy which has been developed since is based on the data collected in the course of this survey. The first practical step taken consisted of increasing the capital grant of the Industry Department to the extent of Rs. 15,000. By this addition to its resources, the officers were enabled to start enquiries in new and promising fields. These have borne fruit in various directions. Provision was made in the budget for introducing hydro-electric power in order to help not only the urban but also the rural people and with a view to its utilisation for carrying on cottage industries.

In order to encourage cottage industries concerned with supplying domestic needs, the U.P. Government has spent nearly Rs. 40,000 for improving the existing processes of *gur* manufacture and teaching them

to cane-growers so that they might utilise their own sugarcane in a profitable way. It has further spent about Rs. 15,000 for finding out improved methods of extracting oil which can be practised as a cottage industry. These have been taught to the village oilmen with the result that they now get more oil from a given quantity of oil seeds than before. It has been stated that experiments in this direction are being continued with a view to finding out still more efficient methods.

Another cottage industry which can be and is practised in villages is hand-spinning and handloom-weaving for encouraging which the U.P. Government has been spending about Rs. 10,000 every year. Government has also provided a ready market at reasonable rates for Khadi by passing orders that whenever possible the uniforms of Government servants supplied by Government should be made of hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar. Another cottage industry practised in the countryside, *viz.*, *ghee* making, has been assisted by grant of Rs. 13,000 in order to provide funds for the organisation of co-operative societies for the production and sale of pure *ghee*.

The claims of those who earn their bread by supplying raw or tanned hide to the consideration of Government have not been overlooked. Ever since coming into power, the Congress Cabinet has spent about Rs. 4,000 every year in order to teach butchers, flayers and curers improved methods of flaying dead animals and curing their hide.

Knowing that on account of poverty, the women have taken to the use of glass bangles which are generally imported from foreign countries and with the idea of stopping this drain as well as of providing a new way of relieving unemployment, the Congress Government has spent on the average Rs. 5,000 every year in order to find out and teach improved methods of manufacturing them. In addition to all these which amount to more than one lakh, the U.P. Government has set apart about 30 per cent. of the 11 lakhs which it is spending for rural development for the encouragement and development of cottage industries.

It also saw that many educated young men who had undergone training in industries are unable to find openings for themselves in industry, in business or trade connected with it or to develop and expand their business for want of adequate capital. In order to meet this situation, the U.P. Government has set apart one lakh to be given

as grants under certain conditions. In making these grants, preference is being shown to groups of individuals and co-operative organisations. But as it is not possible for every individual who needs capital to be assisted out of this fund, it has subsidised an Industrial Credit Company to the extent of 1½ lakhs. It is understood that this amount would be contributed regularly for some years to come.

ORISSA

Want of space prevents me from giving statistics which do not possess much interest for the ordinary reader but from the pamphlet issued by the Congress Government of Orissa which gives an account of its activities, it appears that Orissa which has practically the same population as Assam, with more than double the population of the North-West Frontier Province, has the smallest revenue of all the British Indian provinces and yet it too is spending a very large proportion of its resources in developing its industries, and specially its cottage industries.

The help of the All-India Village Industries Association has been availed of in various different directions. About sixty young men have been trained to manufacture *gur* from the juice of the palmyra and date palm and these have been deputed to rural areas to teach villagers how to draw the juice and to make jaggery (*gur*) out of it. An investigation for evolving an economical process for manufacturing sugar and sugar-candy from *gur* with the help of activated charcoal has been started. Preservation of fruits is being encouraged and some young men are now undergoing training in it. The horn industry for which Orissa has been famous for centuries and which is now in a moribund condition is being encouraged with the help of grants. *Eri* culture and *tassar* rearing are also encouraged.

Grants have been made for demonstrating the use of improved *ghani* (oil pressing machines) and paddy husking implements in villages. Peripatetic demonstration to teach villagers satisfactory methods for pisciculture, wool and cotton weaving and dyeing under expert supervision has been undertaken. Attention is being given to improve rural cottage industries such as the slate industry, basket and mat making, coir weaving, smithy and bell-metal casting. Poultry farming is being encouraged by maintaining flocks of leghorns in Government farms in order to distribute their eggs and chickens among villagers. Arrangements have also been made to give demons-

trations in improved methods of flaying, curing and tanning. My information is that this is being very eagerly availed of by the *chamars* and a certain section of the Muslim population.

Orissa has large areas of forest and undeveloped tracts abounding in bamboos, various kinds of grasses and other material suitable for the manufacture of paper. These easily available and cheap raw materials have been sought to be utilised by the present Government which has, at its own expense, trained many young men in making hand-made paper. When I was in Cuttack in July last, I saw cheap and quite satisfactory envelopes and note-papers in the local market of Cuttack and I feel certain that when this particular type of cottage industry has become more popular, it will be used very largely by those desirous of supporting our indigenous industries. I saw at Hyderabad and Secundarabad in the Nizam's Dominions early in March, 1939, that Government there has ordered that wherever possible all its correspondence should be carried on in hand-made note paper which is now being extensively manufactured locally. Perhaps when a larger supply of hand-made paper is available, the Congress Cabinet might consider the desirability of taking a similar step in order to encourage this industry.

The manufacture of Khaddar on a large scale has been greatly encouraged through the agency of the All-India Spinners' Association. Grants have been made to this body for the extension of spinning and the production of Khaddar on an extensive scale. With the assistance of the Government of India, a Textile Marketing Organisation has been set up for the production and distribution of handloom products under the revised scheme. The All-India Spinners' Association is now functioning both as the suppliers of yarn and the agents for the sale of woven fabrics. The Orissa Government has passed orders that first preference is to be given to textiles manufactured in jails, after that to Khadi which will have to be purchased from the All-India Spinners' Association to ensure that genuine Khaddar is being supplied. This has naturally stimulated sales and, to a certain extent, is helping in the solution of the problem of unemployment in the countryside.

Every effort is being made to develop what may be called the industry sense among the young men of the province. Two methods have been followed for the attainment of this end. This Congress Government of Orissa has given financial assistance to the All-India

Spinners' Association in starting the Madhusudan Village Industries Institute at Cuttack. Here students are being trained in hand-spinning and weaving, calico-printing, pottery, paddy-husking, paper-making and oil-pressing. The Congress Government wanted very soon to make arrangements in this institution for the establishment of a demonstration match factory. It is expected that when it has been properly organised and equipped, it will be able to fulfil all the requirements of the province so far as training in these industries is concerned.

The Orissa Government, however, feels that the young men of the province should not confine their energies to the production of these few articles only. In order, therefore, to create facilities for training in other industries also it has, from the time it came into power, been granting a large number of stipends and scholarships available outside Orissa to properly qualified young men. As it would take much valuable space to give a detailed account of every one of these stipends, I propose to mention only the most important among them. Stipends have been granted for training in textile in the Victoria Jubilee [Technical Institute, Bombay, for umbrella making, bell-metal casting and polishing and pottery at the Industrial Research Laboratory, Calcutta, for oil-pressing and paper-making at the Wardha Training Institute, for match manufacture at the Khadi Pratishthan, Sodepur, Bengal and for tanning at Bari. It is also understood that very soon a few other stipends will also be available for training in commercial art at the Calcutta Government School of Art and for soap-making at the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore. Lastly, some students who have already finished their training in improved methods of fish-curing at the Government fish-curing yards at Tanur are about to start fish-curing yards of their own while still another young man has joined the Madras Fishery Department for general training in fishery work.

Another step in the right direction in order to create an interest in cottage industries has taken the form of a request to the authorities of High and Middle English Schools that they should depute suitable teachers for free training in various handicrafts so that they, in their turn, might introduce them among their pupils thus preparing the ground for at least some of them for the adoption of these industries as a means of earning their bread.

The soil survey has already been made to ascertain the availability of 'sajimati' for the manufacture of soap. Another scheme for a

survey of clay deposits which can be used for the manufacture of pottery is under consideration, while a larger and more ambitious scheme is that of survey of the province in order to explore the industrial possibilities. Further, a Board of Industries has been constituted under the State Aid to Industries Act to advise the Director of Development on the work to be taken up by the Department of Industries. Lastly, a museum of the arts and crafts of Orissa has been started and located in the office of the Development Department.

What has been mentioned in the last paragraph clearly indicates the lines along which the work of developing industries will proceed. As a very poor province Orissa cannot, under present circumstances, expect to launch out into the organisation or development of any large scale industry. The gentlemen at the helm of affairs are, therefore, confining their activities, very wisely I think, to the development of cottage industries. But the three surveys referred to just now as well as the fact that they have set apart the sum of one lakh for, in their language, "encouraging the growth of small scale industries," very clearly indicate that they do not propose that Orissa should permanently remain a province of small industries. One could easily anticipate that if Congress Government had been in office for a longer time the next step would have been in the sphere of medium scale industries carried on with the help of power from which the next step would naturally have been the organisation of one or other of the key industries for which the province may be fitted by an abundant supply of the raw material not to speak of the cheap, skilled labour for which this province is already famous.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

On the 16th January, 1939, a conference to take steps to encourage the development of industries of all types was called by the present Congress Cabinet of C.P. All the Ministers took part in it and it was stated by the Minister in charge of Industries that while cottage, medium and large scale industries would all have their rightful place, he would lay special emphasis on cottage industries in order to relieve unemployment and to secure a balanced rural and urban economy.

The work done up to the end of August, 1939, may be summarised as follows. Two cottage industries institutions for training students

in cotton weaving, carpet and *durrie* weaving, toy-making, lacquer work and cane and basket work manufacture have been opened. A class for the training of aboriginals in basket and bamboo work has been started in Bhandara district.

A scheme for the training of village *chamars* in the use of offal and skin flaying has been introduced. It consists of bone meal propaganda and disposal of the carcasses of the dead animals. A dead cattle institute has also been opened at Nagpur to convert all the different parts of dead animals to commercial use and scientific instruction is given in the art of proper flaying, salting and curing of raw hides, manufacture of flesh and bone manure, extraction of animal fat and preservation of blood, horns, etc., for which there is a demand.

Experiments for introducing and developing mulberry and *tassar* silk industries in the province are being carried out and a number of demonstration centres have been opened. Similarly experiments for the utilization of linseed-stalk fibre have been carried out and articles such as twine and rope door-mats (carpets) have been manufactured.

A grant-in-aid to the All-India Village Industries Association has been given for the training of candidates in village industries such as paper-making, oil-pressing, date-palm *gur*-making and bee-keeping. Another grant-in-aid of Rs. 21,760 has been sanctioned for the encouragement of hand-spinning and hand-weaving in rural areas and the scheme is being continued. Industrial scholarships were awarded to students with a view to starting the umbrella-making industry on the cottage scale.

As a result of the grant from the Government of India for the development of handloom industry, the Central Provinces and Berar Weavers' Co-operative Society, Nagpur, has been formed with seven branches scattered in the province. During 1938-39 raw materials worth Rs. 13,661 were distributed to the affiliated societies. Cloth valued approximately at Rs. 34,000 was manufactured by them. The societies weave various new attractive patterns in sarees and dhoties in finer counts and special varieties such as curtains, bed-spreads, *durries*, etc.

The staff of the textile section has visited several centres inhabited by weavers in the province and has so far introduced 19,364 fly shuttles, sleys and 3,159 dobbies among weavers. It is hoped that

the handloom industry will eventually be firmly established in the province.

BOMBAY

In spite of the presence of a large scale industry as the cotton mills manufacturing with lakhs of operatives, the Congress Government of Bombay as soon as it assumed the reins of office turned its attention to the encouragement of cottage industries. I shall not refer to the valuable work done by its Industry Department in providing help in various directions to small industries but shall pass on to a survey of what has been done in connection with cottage industries at once.

The Industry Department carried on its propaganda of helping and advancing cotton and silk hand-weaving, which is the premier cottage industry of the province, by means of its weaving schools and demonstrations. The Department also maintained schools for wool weaving and dyeing. Small dye houses in the locality of the dying demonstration centre took keen interest and were benefited by following the improved processes demonstrated. A peripatetic cane and bamboo demonstration party was organised for the first time and training in the manufacture of all kinds of cane and bamboo articles was given to workers. A head lacquerware demonstrator and an assistant demonstrator were selected and deputed for necessary training in superior types of lacquer work. On completion of their training, they will give practical demonstrations to lacquer workers of the province. Two hand weaving masters were deputed to Travancore for necessary training in coir manufacture, on completion of which a coir manufacturing school will be organised for the benefit of local coir workers. An artist designer was appointed to assist hereditary craftsmen to produce saleable goods and also to find markets for the same. Ten hereditary arcraft workers were selected and granted stipends to enable them to join Reay Art Workshop, Bombay, for training.

It is also understood that the services of experts from Orissa are about to be requisitioned in order to improve the standard of manufacture of various articles from horns. A scheme for making experiments in artificial silk and another for exploring the possibilities of developing sericulture as a cottage industry have been approved.

The fact that there is an extensive demand for fish although the supply is inadequate made the Bombay Government turn its attention to this problem. It came to realise that the fishermen

find a ready market not only for fresh fish but also for cured fish. In order that fish might come to the market in as fresh a state as possible, it has been giving loans for the purchase of launches for the rapid transport of fish from the fishing grounds to the town of Bombay.

The fishermen at the ports at which the launches operated realised better prices for their fish and took keener interest in their trade. The success of the experiment is amply borne out by the fact that Government's lead has been followed by a number of private individuals going in for launches. Last year, there were in the field 8 vessels. Between them these vessels brought about 800,000 lbs. of fish to Bombay.

The introduction of power-propelled vessels, apart from successfully fulfilling the primary need of augmenting Bombay City's supply of fish, has attracted capital to the aid of the fishing industry. It was only after the appearance of the launches that two ice factories and cold storage plants had been set up. Another ice factory and cold storage plant are under construction at the site where at present all the launches land their catch.

As the result of unremitting propaganda conducted by the officers of the Fishery Department under orders from the Cabinet, the people concerned were gradually coming to realise the desirability of curing fish in accordance with the principles of sanitation. They were seeking the advice of the department with regard to the ways in which this object could be fulfilled. It has been stated in a recent *communiqué* that improved methods for curing fish are followed in over 30 yards. Last year nearly 2½ lakh maunds of fish were cured according to these methods.

It has to be stated that the culture of local fresh water fishes as well as of others imported from Madras and Patna has been taken in hand. They are breeding satisfactorily and Government contemplates distributing the fingerlings among reliable fishermen in villages in order that they might have yet another method of adding to their income.

Grants have been made in every budget to the All-India Village Industries Association for carrying out approved schemes of development of rural industries. This organisation has already introduced the improved type of oil-ghani designed at Wardha in certain rural areas as well as bullock-driven flour mills in selected urban areas. Centres have been opened specially in places where prohibition has been introduced

for imparting instruction in all the processes involved in the manufacture of *gur* from the sweet juice of various types of palm trees. It is hoped that this will provide remunerative work not only for the ordinary villager but also for those toddy tappers who can no longer follow their former profession.

The Congress Government of Bombay has availed itself of the services of the All-India Spinners' Association to which it has loaned about Rs. 40,000 free of interest. Hand spinning and Khadi-weaving have been encouraged and a marketing organisation created for selling the products. Arrangements have been made for encouraging wool-weaving as a cottage industry as well as for marketing the fabrics woven.

Another very welcome measure initiated by the Congress Government has been to induce the different cotton mills to take in boys as apprentices just after they finish their school career. It is understood that in 1938 about 450 such boys were taken in the cotton mills and other industries. It is gratifying to note that such a large number of boys have come to realise the futility of pursuing the ordinary type of education and are willing to qualify themselves as skilled workmen.

In order that properly qualified, trained and meritorious young men might not be prevented from starting industries either of the cottage or of the small scale type, the present Government has liberalised the rules which govern the giving of loans for such purposes. As the result of these changes, many enterprising people have applied for loans to Government. These applications are dealt with on their merits and one may well hope to see new life and vigour appearing in the cottage industries.

MADRAS

The Congress Government of Madras under the energetic and wise guidance of S^j. Rajagopalachariar was making rapid strides towards industrialising the province. In addition to encouraging and developing cottage industries of different types only some of which will be mentioned hereafter, the Congress Government had taken various steps for encouraging medium and large scale industries. Only a reference to these must suffice for we are here concerned with cottage industries only.

A loyal follower of Mahatma Gandhi, it was natural for S. J. Rajagopalachariar to turn his attention first of all to encouraging Khadi. This has been sought to be done in two ways. Seeing that the public have been induced to purchase as Khadi textiles which are not 100 per cent. hand-spun and hand-woven, the Madras Government had recourse to legislation to put an end to this systematic deception practised by unscrupulous dealers. It enacted the Madras Sale of Cloth Act while the Khadi (Name Protection) Act was extended to this province. In each of the budgets of the Congress Government, a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs had been set apart for rendering special assistance to the Khadi industry. The All-India Spinners' Association has received grants for financing the designing, manufacturing and supplying of labour-saving implements to be used in hand-spinning and hand-weaving. These grants also cover the expenditure involved in training men who work in the villages as instructors in improved methods.

As silk is extensively used in Madras, Government has taken steps to encourage sericulture and ericulture. So far as the former is concerned, arrangements have been made for the production of hardy cross-breed seeds which are in great demand in those areas where silk-rearing is pursued regularly as a cottage industry. Experiments in ericulture are reaching the final stage and a scheme for the installation of a plant to utilise *eri* cocoons is under consideration.

Financial help has also been given to woollen, blanket and jute carpet industries which are at present being carried on in rural areas. It is reported that already there has been a marked improvement in the quality of the stuff produced and also that higher prices are being received for them.

The assistance of the Wardha Training Institute has been availed of by deputing certain young men to learn oil-pressing with the help of improved machinery evolved there. These have returned and are introducing these oil mills in villages. Still others who received training in hand-made paper in the same place are carrying on propaganda for popularising this spare time industry in the rural areas.

As the result of investigations conducted by its officers, the Congress Government had come to know that certain grasses and leaves of plants which were available in very large quantities and which had hitherto been regarded as of little economic value were suitable for the manufacture of paper-pulp and it was confident that when the hand-made paper industry was properly organised and when marketing

facilities were made available, it would prove a very welcome means of adding to the slender income of the cottage industry worker.

While I was at Madras early this year, I was informed that Government had provided funds for the erection and maintenance of a small plant for the preparation of malted foods from sprouted gram and also for conducting experiments to devise a cheap plant for making sand-paper as a cottage industry. I do not, however, know what progress has been made in these two industries.

One of the most helpful contributions in this particular direction consisted in the demonstrations given to ex-toddy tappers in the districts of Salem, Cudappah and Chittoor to train them to manufacture jaggery from palm, palmyra and date juice. As the result of the introduction of prohibition in these three districts about 6,000- of these have been thrown out of work. Only a small percentage among them have migrated to neighbouring districts where they are still working as toddy tappers. Government felt it its duty to provide some alternative employment for them. The Industry Department of Madras conducted a series of experiments and evolved a satisfactory process. My information is that nearly 30 co-operative societies have been formed and the former toddy-tappers have taken quite kindly to their new work which is yielding them practically the same income as before with the difference that, unlike former times, not a pice out of it is wasted on toddy.

With an eye to benefiting the fishermen who form an important section of the population on both Coromandel and Malabar coasts, the Congress Government of Madras has adopted three plans. From certain experiments conducted at Tanur, the experts evolved a cheap and easy process for the extraction of shark liver oil which is used extensively for medicinal purposes. Sharks are found in fairly large numbers and are very frequently caught. Officers appointed by Government for the purpose are demonstrating at all important fish-curing yards this method which can be easily carried on under village conditions. Then again, sardine oil which is the commonest and cheapest fish oil produced in this presidency, has been found to contain vitamin A. It is of great commercial importance as it can be used both for food and for medicinal purposes. But up to the present, the methods used have been wasteful. Government has, therefore, made arrangements to teach fishermen the economical and easy method evolved by its experts. Lastly, in order to teach better methods of

fish-curing, Government has opened four fish-curing yards on the Malabar coast. Instead of importing the salt from Tuticorin on the east coast, it has arranged to manufacture salt on the spot. It is expected that the workers and proprietors of fish-curing yards of which there are large numbers on the sea coast will take advantage of the facilities created and introduce the cheap and efficient methods adopted in the Government yards.

It is interesting to note the different ways in which the present Congress Government of Madras is encouraging the development of industry. In order that the different industries might be manned by qualified men, a Technological Diploma Examination Board has been set up. This conducts the examination of all students studying in technological institutions and grants diplomas only to those who possess the necessary qualifications, it being expected that only these should be employed in factories, etc. Recently courses in ceramics, leather working, casting and metal work have been either enlarged or started. It is hoped that students after completing their training will be able to set up small establishments of their own in or near their own homes.

In order to give financial assistance to persons carrying on cottage and village industries, Government amended the Madras State Aid to Industries Act and has been making liberal grants to various persons. I myself know of loans granted to persons engaged in making toys, buttons, etc. I have also been told that loans have been given for reviving silk spinning and cotton weaving.

Recognising that cottage industries can compete successfully with machine-made products only where the marketing organisation is such as to completely cut out or greatly reduce middlemen's profits and also that commercial museums offer an easy means of putting the producer into touch with the buyer or the consumer, the Madras Government has established a Central Museum at the capital of the province with museums in the different districts. It cannot be said that all the districts have museums or that every one of the district museums has a complete collection of the specimens of all arts and crafts practised in it. What is encouraging is that an earnest effort is being made to organise industry and specially the cottage industry. There does not seem to be much doubt that all these steps will have the effect of opening up a large market for the products.

Lastly, in order that Government might, as far as possible, come to the rescue of these industries, orders have been passed that, as far as

practicable, all its requirements as well as those of local bodies and aided institutions should be met from articles manufactured in India. The purchase of jail-made articles has also been made compulsory for all departments requiring such articles. This policy has been greatly appreciated as it has provided a steady market for some at least of the products of cottage industries.

CONCLUSION

It is an undeniable fact that in certain directions whether we like it or not, we shall have to adopt large scale production methods and start factories for this purpose. But in order to maintain equilibrium between man and machine, we should try to encourage industries which will employ comparatively large numbers of workers. This may not be ideal from the orthodox standpoint but it is sound sense from the point of view of the statesman who thinks it his duty as well as his privilege to look to the greatest good of the greatest number. For this purpose it may be necessary to grant protection to our cottage industries but we should not, I hold, be afraid to take this step in order to safeguard the interests of our poorer brethren. It is admitted that, at least in the initial stages indirect compulsion in the case of products of cottage industries which enjoy protection practically amounts to the imposition of indirect taxation on the consumers of these goods. But this need not necessarily be a permanent feature of our economic life. Cheap power harnessed to cottage industries must ultimately lower the cost of production and their starting in different parts of India must engender competition in our internal market which must inevitably lead to a reduction in their retail prices. Only the other day, Beatrice and Sidney Webb in their work on Soviet Russia pointed out that in spite of the marvellous economic development of that country, more than 50 per cent of its internal needs are met by the products of cottage industries carried on under the cartel or co-operative system. We should remember that human values are very precious and no man who calls himself an Indian and a patriot should grudge paying high prices when he knows that by doing so, he is saving his brothers and sisters from starvation, nakedness, disease and premature death.

CONVOCATION ADDRESS *

SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR

I am thankful to His Excellency the Chancellor of the Andhra University for inviting me to address the Convocation.

My mind spontaneously goes back at this moment to the day when the great Bengali religious teacher, Sri Chaitanya, visited this sequestered region more than four centuries ago, to preach the gospel of Vaishnavism and by his intimate association with all classes of people, among whom he worked and lived, he forged a link that binds it to my Province. There are hints in accounts of his southern travel that he met powerful Vaishnava and Buddhist leaders on the Godavari side, which perhaps partially covered the Andhra territory. He also came in contact with many scholars of the Tamil race. Sri Chaitanya met many renowned scholars like Ram Giri, a Buddhist leader, Dhundiram Tirtha of the Tungabhadra region, Mathur Pandit, a Ramayat Vaishnava of Tripadi, Madhavendra Bhuj of the Narsing temple and Bharga Deb of Tripatra. Sri Chaitanya's spiritual ministrations were greatly appreciated over a large tract of country from Puri to Rameswaram, which certainly comprised, among others, parts of the Andhra country. He not only spread his religion there, but coming across two great works, the *Brahma Samhita* and *Kanada*, discovered by him somewhere on the banks of the Krittimala, he got a new impulse in his emotional experiences, and enriched his imported knowledge with his own interpretations.

I desire, at the outset, to refer to the wish for a separate autonomous Province that is uppermost in the minds of the people of Andhradesa. This is, I believe, a genuine and legitimate aspiration. You ask for this constitutional change in order that you may be able to devote your energies whole-heartedly for an adequate development of the part of the country inhabited by Telugu-speaking people. A glimpse into the proud record of the political and cultural achievements of the people of Andhradesa in the past fully justifies your ambition. Although your very just demand has, for the present, been rejected,

* Delivered at the Annual Convocation of the Andhra University on the 7th October, 1939.

it may be hoped that in view of the influential support that the project of an autonomous Andhra Province has already received from different quarters, it will be realized before long, when you will have an opportunity for self-expression to the fullest possible extent.

The establishment of your University may, in fact, be taken to be an earnest of the desire of the people of Andhradesa to take into their own hands the development of the cultural side of their activities and direct them along channels which would be conducive to a proper and adequate growth. It is gratifying to find that within the short space of thirteen years, you have been able to make very substantial progress, and that in addition to the moral and intellectual support that you have received, the Provincial Government, generous and public-spirited citizens and enlightened public bodies have come forward to back up your efforts by suitable financial support. The Maharaja of Jeypore has laid us under a deep debt of gratitude by his princely benefactions. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the present resources of the University are quite incommensurate with its needs, and that if it is to be enabled to fulfil its obligations even to a limited extent, ampler and more liberal resources must be forthcoming.

It is encouraging to find in this connexion some of the local bodies in your area contributing to the funds of the University. The example set by the Madras Government in accepting the principle that local bodies might contribute liberally to the University and that no objection would be raised by them except on grounds of financial inability is worthy of emulation by other Provincial Governments.

I desire to offer you my sincerest congratulations on the emphasis that you have been able to place on the conduct of research. Your record of researches carried on by teachers of the University, both from the points of view of quality and quantity, brings you credit and confers on you distinction. That the teachers have been able to carry on research in such a wide variety of subjects as Economics, Commerce, History, Politics, Philosophy, Telugu Literature, and different branches of Physics, Chemistry, Technology and Medical Sciences, and also to contribute original papers on them, apart from serving as an inspiration to students, is a very hopeful augury for the future development of the University. The results of your experiment of creation of new Chairs for really capable and competent persons, on a modest scale of remuneration, will certainly be watched with very great interest. If the experiment be successful, it would help the diffusion of higher

education much faster than might otherwise be expected. The proposal for establishment of new technological courses in various subjects is a step in the right direction. It is gratifying to note that the Technological Department has won the Government of India prize for sugar technology.

I am happy to find that you desire to give to music a recognized place among the subjects of study. This will be widely appreciated because of its value in awakening and developing the æsthetic faculty, which is an important human gift. In fact, a training in music has been found by educationalists to be almost as important as the training of the intellect through languages, science, mathematics. You are extremely fortunate in having a special advantage over others in this matter on account of the exceptional aptitude for music with which people of Andhradesa are endowed. I hope that the wise step taken by you in this matter will be followed in other Provinces.

While dealing with the future lines of development of the University, your last report refers to the question of educational reconstruction. It appears that some time ago the Government of your Province addressed you on the subject of reconstruction of Secondary and University education and that, after due consideration, you communicated to the Government your views on the problems involved. They subsequently informed you that it was their desire to give early effect to the scheme they had formulated on the subject. This involved the elimination of the Intermediate classes and extension of the degree course by a year. The new proposal, no doubt, meant a very important change.

In some of the other Provinces also changes of a similar nature have been advocated. In fact, the need of educational reconstruction in all its stages is being canvassed all over the country, and the question has engaged the attention of a host of educational experts and authorities and been discussed from widely different view-points. There can be no doubt that the time is quite ripe for a thorough overhauling of the entire educational system in India, and with the introduction of provincial autonomy, it should be possible to introduce a well-planned and properly integrated scheme of education from the lowest to the highest stage. In order that any reform that may be introduced in your scheme of studies may be effective, it is of absolute importance that those responsible for primary and secondary education should be induced to take the needed steps for improvement and reform.

along with any measures of reconstruction that may be undertaken in the upper stages.

In order that a modern university may be able to fulfil its purposes in a proper manner and on an adequate scale, it is necessary that there should be a clear understanding of the conception of general liberal education, the university being the chief educational authority responsible for fostering such education in its area of operation. This is needed, in view of the fact that there has been a considerable difference of opinion, even among eminent educationalists, as to what constitutes liberal education, since the days Plato and Aristotle expressed their ideas on the subject. It is contended by certain critics that any education other than purely literary and purely scientific cannot be included in any scheme of general liberal education and that such education is beyond the scope of any university. This has resulted in considerable loose thinking as to the relative importance of purely literary and scientific studies on the one hand and studies of so-called utilitarian or non-cultural subjects on the other. There is also much confusion of thought as to how far the university is the proper authority for imparting technical education.

Prof. A. N. Whitehead, in his work, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays* (1929), refers to the subject at some length. A national system of education, Prof. Whitehead thinks, should make use of three main methods, namely, the literary curriculum, the scientific curriculum and the technical curriculum and that each of these curricula should include the other two. "What I mean is," he adds, "that every form of education should give the pupil a technique, a science, an assortment of general ideas, and æsthetic appreciation, and that each of these sides of his training should be illuminated by the others. Lack of time, even for the most favoured pupil, makes it impossible to develop fully each curriculum. Always there must be a dominant emphasis. The most direct æsthetic training naturally falls in the technical curriculum in those cases when the training is that requisite for some art or artistic craft. But it is of high importance in both a literary and a scientific education."

Explaining further Prof. Whitehead says: "No human being can attain to anything but fragmentary knowledge and a fragmentary training of his capacities. There are, however, three main roads along which we can proceed with good hope of advancing towards the best balance of intellect and character : these are the way of literary culture,

the way of scientific culture, the way of technical culture. No one of these methods can be exclusively followed without grave loss of intellectual activity and of character. But a mere mechanical mixture of the three curricula will produce bad results in the shape of scraps of information never interconnected or utilised. We have already noted as one of the strong points of the traditional literary culture that all its parts are co-ordinated. The problem of education is to retain the dominant emphasis, whether literary, scientific or technical, and without loss of co-ordination to infuse into each way of education something of the other two."

Prof. Whitehead considers that the antithesis between a technical and a liberal education is fallacious. In his opinion, "There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal, and no liberal education which is not technical: that is, no education which does not impart both technique and intellectual vision. In simpler language, education should turn out the pupil with something he knows well and something he can do well. This intimate union of practice and theory aids both. The intellect does not work best in a vacuum. The stimulation of creative impulse requires, especially in the case of a child, the quick transition to practice. Geometry and mechanics, followed by workshop practice, gain that reality without which mathematics is verbiage."

Your University, I am glad to find, has taken the right course by including technical studies in its curricula. I have taken the liberty of quoting the views of Professor Whitehead at some length, because he has dealt with the subject in a masterly way. This, it may be expected, should give a proper lead to our universities and strengthen the position of those who desire the universities to undertake on a more systematic and extended scale work in the sphere of applied sciences. A reference to the late Thomas H. Huxley's observations on the subject, expressed more than half a century ago, in his remarkably vigorous and lucid language, will be found both interesting and instructive. When discussing the question with reference to the state of technical education in England, in his time, he urged that the preliminary education of the student pursuing technical courses "shall have been such as to have given him command of the common implements of learning and to have created a desire for the things of the understanding"; that he "should devote the precious hours of preliminary education to things of the mind, which have no direct and immediate bearing on his branch

of industry, though they lie at the foundation of all realities"; and that the education that precedes the workshop "should be entirely devoted to the strengthening of the body, the elevation of the moral faculties, and the cultivation of the intelligence, and especially to the imbuing the mind with a broad and clear view of the laws of that natural world with the components of which he will have to deal." Huxley's advice was as valuable as that given by Professor Whitehead now.

Let us turn our attention for a few minutes to medicine and public health on the teaching of which your University has devoted considerable attention.

It is quite possible that in the Middle Ages the systems of medical treatment prevalent in India were, in many respects, more advanced than those in vogue elsewhere at the time. Although remarkable advances were made by the ancient Indian physicians and surgeons, who laid the foundations of medical science in this country, these savants became bound up, in course of time, by traditions, with the result that knowledge, instead of progressing, actually retrogressed in the subsequent ages, and the effect of this was that no important discoveries and no improvements were made since the ancient treatises were written. The ancient systems, however admirable, in many respects, were necessarily undeveloped, in the absence of a solid foundation of the basic sciences of physics, chemistry, bacteriology, biology, physiology, pharmacology, pathology, hygiene, etc., and ran mostly on speculative lines. The treatment of diseases was necessarily empirical, no corresponding improvement of these sciences having taken place in India during the nineteenth century when remarkable scientific progress was being consolidated in the western world.

When the British came to India they brought with them some British Surgeons, who held charge of hospitals for British soldiers, chiefly catering to the needs of the army. The need for training Indians in Western medicine arose out of the necessity of having moderately paid Indian assistants to these surgeons. The first medical school after the Western system had been opened in Calcutta in 1824. Between that year and 1835, when the Medical Colleges of Calcutta and Madras were started, medical teaching was imparted in the vernacular by translating English books as also by assimilating the essential features of the indigenous systems of medicine, by organising teaching through the agency of the Sanskrit and Madrassa Colleges in Calcutta. Although the first two Medical Colleges, established in Calcutta and

Madras, were founded in 1835; they were affiliated to the University in 1857 and 1863 respectively. But it was not until 1906 that the need for the teaching of the higher standard was recognised. There are now ten University grade Medical Colleges in India, including one exclusively for women.

With the passing of the Indian Medical Council Act in 1933, attempts have been made to raise undergraduate medical teaching to a higher and more uniform standard. The medical curricula have undergone many changes since 1892, when direct connection was established between the Indian Medical College and the General Medical Council of the United Kingdom. The Medical Council of India has recently made mathematics a compulsory subject in the premedical science course of studies, and has suggested that the first two years should be occupied in the study of professional scientific subjects, with an introduction to clinical methods, and that no student should be certified as qualified for attending classes in the clinical group of subjects, until he has satisfied the examiners that he has a competent knowledge of the subjects of these two years. The Council has also rightly laid down that throughout the whole period of study the attention of the student should be directed to the importance of the preventive aspects of medicine and of measures for the assessment and maintenance of normal health.

Although the Indian Medical Council has done good work within the short period of its existence, handicap to co-ordinated progress in the teaching of medicine and surgery in India has arisen as a result of the control of this body by the General Medical Council of the United Kingdom.

The special needs of India and of Indian students must be kept in view in framing a medical curriculum and in introducing appropriate courses of training. Indian students and Indian conditions should receive special emphasis from the teachers. A fair amount of research work has been carried out by Indian workers on diseases prevalent in this country within the last four or five decades: hence an Indian orientation to medical teaching can very well be given now by those who are responsible for the same. Research is the sap of the plant of science. Hence every teaching institution must encourage research work among its teachers and students. Researches into the etiology and pathology of unexplained diseases and on therapy, particularly in the domain of indigenous drugs, should receive special attention. With

the excellent natural advantages which India possesses as regards her soil, climate and plant flora, and with proper and adequate training of young students in chemistry and allied subjects for handling these and other relevant matters, it should not be necessary for her to depend wholly on imports. Each time a war blockades the communications between the West and the East we realise our helplessness in the matter of the supply of medicinal preparations and chemicals. I hope the young generation which I see before me here will try to remove these wants in a large measure.

A time has come when we should give a public health orientation to medical teaching, and this should be in consonance with the needs and the environment which a student or a medical practitioner or a public health worker will have to deal with. Every medical student should be made to participate in public health activities as part of his training in medicine and public health. Public health diplomas are now granted to medical graduates in various provincial universities, although most of them at the present moment are post-graduate; Madras and Bombay are the only two Universities which give the B.Sc. degree in Public Health.

Let us now devote a few moments in assessing the number of qualified medical men and public health workers needed to take care of and to rehabilitate the health of 6,00,000 villages. If we have to supply one qualified doctor and one qualified public health man to a group of three villages, we shall require 2,00,000 workers of each category to put a well-considered scheme into operation. As a result of scientific medical teaching for the last 100 years, we can now supply 35,000 qualified doctors and only a few hundred public health workers for the above purpose. If we go on at this rate, it will take for us another 200 years to raise India to an up-to-date world level. The need for rapid progress in these directions is, therefore, obvious. As in medical relief, so in public health, we should have field demonstration centres in connection with teaching. These supply a student with a proper outlook about his responsibilities to the community without which he is likely to be a misfit.

The Universities have tried to keep in touch with post-graduate training and research since the opening of Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in 1920 and the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in 1932. While these institutes have many individuals as torch-bearers for the rest of India, there is no reason

why every university should not encourage the establishment of provincial institutes for the purpose of a quicker output of the number of workers as well as the volume of work, for every province should need the services of a much larger number of qualified graduates in the near future. It is a happy sign that research work is being carried on in many of the Medical Colleges in India, and your College, I am glad to note, takes a prominent part in this.

With the establishment of provincial autonomy in the provinces, efforts are being made to give official recognition to the Ayurvedic, Unani and Homœopathic systems of medicine. The basic sciences of chemistry, physics, biology, physiology, pharmacology, pathology and bacteriology are the same all over the world. The present tendency to register practitioners of various so-called systems of medicine, lacking systematic scientific training of any sort, is a move in the wrong direction. We do not call a barrister or an advocate now practising in India according to communal denominations. Science is progressive and must be the same throughout the world. The criterion of the right of a doctor to medical practice, or to the privilege of registration, must depend on the basic knowledge he possesses of the fundamental sciences of chemistry, physics, anatomy, physiology, pharmacology, pathology and of medicine, surgery, midwifery and other cognate subjects. No system of medicine—Ayurvedic, Unani or any other—can get on without the help of modern basic sciences. There should be no spirit of communalism or opportunism or false economy concerning matters of life and death of millions of ignorant and helpless villagers whom we have failed to educate or elevate. The question of prevention of epidemic diseases cannot be successfully solved, unless scientific methods of proved efficiency are adopted. How can we apply all the different systems of medicine towards this end? The proper move should be to have only one medical science which has been worked out by the scientists all over the world, incorporating into it whatever good there may be in the indigenous medical sciences of the country. If this is done, there will be only one medical register in the country, which should facilitate the control of medical relief and sanitation for the entire population. It is for this reason that I am compelled to discourage the teaching of the so-called medical systems, without the help of the basic sciences. If India is to achieve her place among the first rank nations of the world, she must advance with the help of modern sciences and she

must discourage retrograde measures of the sort that are being encouraged in some of the provinces, without forethought and imagination.

Among the problems of reform that await solution, the most pressing is the use of one's own mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in place of the English language. Quite a large proportion of students are now found to be unfit for the University courses. This proportion has increased considerably with the growth in the number of students taking up college courses. This serves as a serious handicap to proper progress and development. Among the causes of this defect, the very unnatural practice of the use of a foreign tongue as the medium of instruction may be considered to be the most important. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore describes in his picturesque and inimitable language the serious evils that have resulted from this arrangement. In the course of his Convocation Address at the Calcutta University delivered two years ago he says: "We know of parasitic creatures in the animal world that live and die in utter dependence on their hosts. They are able to eke out a living, but are for ever crippled in the growth of their limbs and organs. Such has been the case with our modern school and college education. It has from its inception been parasitic on a foreign tongue, so that, though nourishment has not been altogether lacking, it has been obtained at the cost of all-round development—so much so, that it has even ceased to be sensible of its own abortiveness. Accustomed to live by borrowing, it has come to measure attainment by largeness of debt: it has signed a bond of servitude to the thinkers of other lands. Those who receive such education cannot produce what they consume. Brought up to absorb the thoughts of others, their academic success depends on their ability to repeat by rote, and their own faculty of thought, their courage of conviction, their creative inspiration, have all been enfeebled. It goes without saying that the only way of revival from such chronic debility is by the assimilation and application of the subject-matter of education through one's own language, just as, in order to incorporate foodstuffs into the body, they have to be chewed with one's own teeth, saturated with one's own digestive juices." My University has just adopted the use of Bengali as the medium of instruction as also of examination in place of English in many of the courses in the Arts and Science Faculties. Similar action is needed elsewhere also. In this matter the example

of Japan is of classic importance and should give us courage and hope. It is true that there will be difficulties in the beginning, such as preparation of proper text-books, etc., but these, it has been found, are not insurmountable. When medical education for Indians was first introduced by the British, the needed text-books were speedily prepared for the students; judged by the results of similar use of one's own mother-tongue in the study and examination of the medical subjects in the lower standard of medical schools, there can be neither any fear nor any misgiving as to the success of any enterprise in this direction.

I have to address a few words of advice to the recipients of degrees to-day, who are now ready to enter life as responsible citizens. Do not consider that I am presumptuous enough to think that I can say anything new or anything that you do not know. But I should ask you, youths of India, to bear in mind, above everything else, that the chief responsibility for the future progress of the country rests on you. It is true that you will have to work hard to achieve individual competence and advancement, but true social efficiency can never be attained so long as each individual is not prepared to contribute his best gifts to society and to enjoy advantages which society can offer him. In fact, the process of self-realization through social life is the best result of the educative process. What is needed, therefore, is that you should foster a life of social service based upon devotion and a proper spirit of sacrifice.

It must be your aspiration, as it is the desire of every Indian who loves his or her motherland, that India should not lag behind any country in the various spheres of her social or national activity. Take, for instance, the problem of educational advance, the basis of all national progress. If India expects to be treated on a footing of equality by the progressive countries of the world, the first thing needed is that the educational backwardness of her people should be removed within the shortest possible time. Other people have shown that it is possible to achieve this result if proper measures are adopted. Now that responsible ministers of autonomous provinces are empowered to deal with all problems relating to education, our progress in this direction should be rapid. It is possible for you, young graduates of the University, to throw yourselves heart and soul into this noble work and do your bit by helping in various ways the diffusion of enlightenment among the vast masses of your countrymen and countrywomen, who are sunk in

abysmal ignorance and in the grossest illiteracy. Educated young men in some of the Provinces have already shown the way by undertaking such work. But the problem is of such importance and magnitude as to require a properly devised scheme for comprehensive action throughout the entire country. In this connection it is not out of place to state that among the remedial measures for unemployment among educated men and women adopted by some of the foreign countries, the overhauling and reorganization of the system of schools is one.

Another very important sphere in which young medical graduates can undertake similar welfare work is improvement of public health. I have already spoken on the subject at some length. Those who have gone through the recently published report of the Public Health Commissioner of India must have seen how severe is the havoc and how extreme the suffering that is caused by preventible and remediable diseases in India. It is possible to reduce the heavy mortality very considerably, and to give relief to the unparalleled misery and distress that is caused to an incredibly large percentage of the population, by suitable measures. In their Introduction to the recent work, *A Century of Municipal Progress*, the editors, Professor Harold J. Laski, and Messrs. W. Ivor Jennings and William A. Robson, of the University of London, describe how during the past hundred years the death-rate in England has been halved, the infantile mortality reduced by three quarters, and cholera which used to be a periodical menace is now considered to be something 'remote and oriental.' They further observe: "One hundred years ago people expected to have the small-pox as now they expect their dogs to have distemper; to-day, on the average, it is the cause of one in a million deaths. One hundred years ago, the Webbs have told us, nearly every person was either recovering from or sickening for enteric fever; now it causes less than six in a million deaths. The other infectious diseases and such diseases as tuberculosis have been reduced to proportions, which would have been regarded a century ago as almost Utopian. These are facts which can be proved by statistics. We cannot prove in that way the enormous increase in the comfort and convenience of the people. Nor can we prove in the same way that without the development of the educational and related services modern commerce and industry would be impossible. Yet a moment's reflection shows that it must be so. The enormous developments in the technique of industry and of business administration have been possible only because we are not merely a healthy but

also a literate people. Indeed, our whole democratic system rests upon an educated electorate." A small state like Yugoslavia has achieved a splendid record during recent years in the domain of preventive and remedial medical relief to the population, and Soviet Russia's efforts in such directions are, perhaps, unequalled by any other country in the world. What others have been able to accomplish, we should also be able to do.

It is imperative that the wealth of the country should be adequately increased by proper measures of industrial and agricultural development. This is needed not only with a view to removing the conditions of abject poverty and indescribable misery in which the vast mass of the people of India pass their days, but also for concerting proper measures of national development. In all this it is, of course, the primary duty of Government to take the initiative. But if you realize your responsibility, you will be able to render suitable help either as future citizens, or as future legislators, or as public servants or leaders of public opinion, or in other ways. Where the people are imbued with a genuine sense of loyalty for their country, have an adequate concern for the commonweal, and are enthusiastic in their regard for the welfare of the general body of citizens, such a country or such a people can alone be expected to prosper.

It is a most tragic circumstance that while India stands in need of the services of a vast army of devoted and selfless workers, who could bring enlightenment to the ignorant and the illiterate, afford relief to the poor and the destitute, allay the sufferings of the sick and the infirm, and develop in a proper manner the agricultural, industrial, mineral and other resources of the country which lie dormant, the energies of numberless educated young men are running to waste, as, in the absence of proper opportunities, they are unable to earn a living and to become useful citizens. If the urgency and gravity of the question were fully realised, neither the Government, nor the community would allow things to drift any longer.

The problem is not peculiar to India only. Elsewhere also similar conditions have existed, and in some of the countries, comprehensive action has been taken by the Governments concerned to tackle the problem. The time has come when the Government in this country should also definitely recognise its obligation in this matter. Youths of India; if you are earnest and enterprising, you can play your part in the solution of this difficult problem. Inspired by a high ideal

and by the spirit of devotion and service to the motherland, you can render material help, on the one hand, in the removal of the deficiencies and drawbacks that stand in the way of India's advance, and, on the other, in securing the conditions of progress.

Before I bring my address to a close, I desire to refer very briefly to another matter of vital importance, namely, the need of effective measures for the protection of the people of India against foreign aggression. The sanguinary conflict that is raging since some time past between different nations has brought home to all thoughtful Indians the utter helplessness of her people against any future foreign offensive. For over half a century Indian public men have urged that proper steps be adopted for opening recruitment to the Army to all classes and sections of the population, in place of the present system, which favours certain classes and provinces against others, and that adequate opportunities be given for the appointment of educated Indians in the higher ranks of the Army in sufficiently large numbers in order that India may gradually become self-dependent in the sphere of defence. This just demand has so far met with a very meagre response. No time should now be lost in bringing into being a modern and efficient force manned by Indians, without any distinction of class, creed or province, in order that the people of the country may be enabled to defend themselves effectively against foreign attack. Dr. B. S. Moonje, of Nagpur, is entitled to our gratitude for his ceaseless efforts for the establishment of the Bhonsla Military Academy at Nasik, the first of its kind started, for military training, under non-official auspices. It is desirable that Military Training should be organized in all the University centres, as has been done in Calcutta, so that educated young men could be trained and would be prepared to protect their motherland in case of need. The accounts we have in old Bengali literature show that Bengal was, till the eighteenth century, full of 'Telenga Soldiers,' who were held very formidable in war. It should not be difficult for you to revive your old martial instincts under proper conditions. No autonomy or self-government can be real so long as the people concerned are not able to defend their country and their liberty against hostile assault and encroachment.

THE ÆSTHETIC AND THE SOCIAL IN ART APPRECIATION

DR. BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

Docteur en géographie h.c. (Teheran)

THE Viking Press of New York is to be congratulated on the publication of Sheldon Cheney's *World History of Art* (1937, over 1,000 pages, 500 illustrations, \$ 5). It is a study in the dynamics of art-styles and art-milieux from the most pre-historic ages up to the present day. The data have been pleasantly presented in a manner that indicates the author's intimate acquaintance with the genuine alphabet of art. It is not as an archæologist or culture-antiquarian that Cheney writes. He is interested in art as a thing to be enjoyed, in art for its own sake, and is exhibiting the specimens of art by moving from epoch to epoch and region to region or race to race. The analysis of æsthetic forms—whether in architecture, sculpture and painting or in the decorative and industrial arts—is his chief concern. This is an item generally ignored by those art-historians who write of the ideals or philosophies of culture or are interested chiefly in the borrowings, migrations or origins of styles, *i.e.*, those authors who as a rule are the farthest removed from art as the thing in itself.¹ And yet the culture-historical, philosophical or sociological perspective has not escaped the author.

Anthropological explorations have widened the range of æsthetics. So it is possible to-day to encounter the specimens of man's creativeness at 15,000, 30,000 or 50,000 B.C. There is such a thing as Cro-Magnon art or the art of the troglodytes. The masterpieces of that art are the paintings of the Reindeer Age on the walls of caves in south-western Europe and Africa, and the epoch of palæolithic or old stone age. And yet those artists did not spring full-equipped from the brain of some Cro-Magnon Zeus. Cheney suggests with a good deal of reason that the painters of the bison and reindeer and mammoth on the rock walls in Spain and France represent the culmination of a long apprenticeship, the ripe-fruit at the end of age-long

¹ The distinction between the two methods of art-analysis is the subject-matter of "Viewpoints in Aesthetics" a chapter in the present author's *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 116-143.

development. The same is to be postulated or inferred about the Mohenjodarian culture and art, as done by the present author in *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937).

The statement is valid not only in regard to the chronology of evolution, but in regard to æsthetic values as well. It is pointed out that "these earliest pictures have the features considered typical of the true masterpiece: plastic completeness, intense life, monumental proportions. They also often have that incidental virtue which was for the Victorians a basic excellence: extraordinary truth of observation." The worth of this oldest art of mankind is indeed so universal and eternal that, as is well known and as Cheney points out, the "moderns" of 1880-1930 have self-consciously tried but to recapture that strong, youthful spirit, the direct unrealistic statement, the intuitive plastic expression. Sociologically it is important to note that the spirituality of man acquires a phenomenal expansion both in time and space as a result of such liberalism in æsthetic interpretations.

The conventional idea that Oriental art is primarily symbolic is not conceded, and quite justly, by Cheney. In his appraisal it is rather expressionism that is characteristically illustrated in the great body of Asian art. Expressionism fits Eastern art better than it does any large development of Western art before the post-impressionist, says he. The intention of Oriental art is to fix the feeling of the thing rather than to reproduce its dimensions and outlines and material details.

Cheney's treatment and interpretation of Chinese paintings are suggestive and in the main acceptable. But in regard to Hindu art he does not rise above the conventional. In his statement that Brahmanism leads inevitably to asceticism and to denial of the pleasures and facts of sense he accepts without sense the Eur-American tradition and bids adieu as much to contact with the actual specimens of Hindu art as to history, economics and sociology. His fallacy is due to his being rather consciously misled by the silly statements of L. M. Phillipp's *Form and Colour* (New York, 1915) to the effect that "India's only teachers are solitary dreamers, * * * India has built up no edifice of mundane knowledge, * * * India is not interested in the world we live in, * * * India is not interested in man." And yet as art-critic Cheney is conscious that Hindu art is "not austere or gloomy or remote." He admits that it is "man-centred."

Once in a while Cheney hits upon the reality when he observes that Hindu art "holds to the essential dignity of the human soul

without denying sensuous appeal." Again, "almost miraculously the balance is held," says he. "The soul and the senses are addressed in one evocative harmony, in one sculptural creation."

And this leads one to surmise that if and when art-students care to approach the actual specimens of Hindu architecture, sculpture and painting as art-connoisseurs pure and undefiled, *i.e.*, as self-determined researchers in form, and refuse to take a previous grounding in the conclusions of the cycle of orientalists and indologists they will be convinced how mischievously they have been led astray by the alleged specialists in Indian philosophy, theology, metaphysics and view of life. It will then flash upon them as a first postulate that Indian art is "man-centred." The stupidity of declaring in the second decade of the twentieth century that "India is not interested in man" would stand self-condemned. But, such nonsensical notions are likely to obsess the world of sciences and arts for quite a long time still—and for reasons discussed at length in the present author's *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (first edition, Berlin, 1922; second edition, Calcutta, 1939).²

It is a merit of the present work that Java, Cambodia and Champa have been dealt with as regions of Indian art in expansion. The art of Greater India has been placed in the proper sociological and historical perspective. But the absence of any reference to Mohenjodarian art and culture in this otherwise comprehensive work, published as it is in 1937, is to be regretted as a capital defect.

Moslem art's place in East and West has been indicated with due emphasis. A valuable viewpoint for the student of cultural dynamics is the rôle of Iran as envisaged by Cheney. It is brought out that the Persian name turns up casually in the chronicles of every culture from Spain to China, and suggested that Iran will yet be recognized as the mother of the Oriental arts. At any rate, the remark that Persia was the originator and Islam the instrument is quite apposite and would remind us somewhat of captive Greece capturing Rome.

European art of the sixth to the twelfth century is generally known as Romanesque. According to Cheney this is a misnomer. "To continue to define Romanesque as the art of Romanized Europe is, on stylistic and racial grounds, unsound and misleading. In the Dark and the Middle Ages it was rather the barbarian and Eastern art impulses

² See the chapter on "The Futurism of Young Asia"

that dominated and all but submerged the Latin." This is a radical viewpoint and deserves careful historical as well as sociological research.

It is questionable, however, if one is entitled to make, as Cheney does, a statement like the following: "Gothic architecture is an isolated expression, approached in kind only by the late Romanesque." Morphologically, the interior of the Buddhist cave temples as well as the spires (*sikharas*) of the Brahmanical temples are to be counted among the cognates of the Gothic pattern. It is by all means possible to establish an equation in certain particulars between the Indian religious mind and the Gothic mind which has been described as the mind of "mystic realism" and as attempting to "bring a harmony out of the material and the spiritual, the sublime and the grotesque." Indeed, the ideological affinities between Buddhism and Roman Catholic Christianity are too patent to be ignored. The impacts of Hindu-Buddhist religious art on the Gothic architecture which is supposed to be the "clearest flame of the Christian spirit" cannot be entirely ruled out on psychological or historical grounds. From the standpoint of socio-aesthetic patterns the Gothic Cathedral cannot be treated as *sui generis*.

The social *milieu* of Italian humanism as represented by the Renaissance masters, Botticelli and Da Vinci, has been described with realistic details in the background of Savonarola, the "fanatic preacher who had pointed out that the Pope's court was corrupt and licentious." The treatment here as in other instances is marked by technical analysis which indicates that the author is not a mere antiquarian, archaeologist, historian or anthropologist. Cheney is not bamboozled by orthodox opinions. He is honest enough to declare that "it was the diffusion of Leonardo's energies and inventiveness over so many fields that prevented a surpassing success as painter. The very fact of his extraordinary intellectual powers, moreover, may have precluded exercise of any passionate creative faculty." It is too true that Da Vinci penetrated toward the spiritual only a very little way and that he made the landscape backgrounds and the expressions in portrayed faces 'mysterious' but that of the truer mystic values there is scarcely a trace." Cheney can very often be depended upon as a sound guide in the principles of pure aesthetics. According to him Da Vinci is "excluded from the rolls of those in whose art the creative values transcend the illustrational ones." This verdict is brutal but sincere and justified. It is by applying this touchstone that we can

justify his enthusiasm for the canvases of El Greco (1542-1614), the Spanish master, somewhat neglected for a long time until rediscovered by moderns, *e.g.*, by Cezanne.

To the directors of museums in East and West Cheney is likely to appear rather too harsh to Murillo (1618-1682), the Spanish artist. "No other painter so long praised as immortal has fallen into eclipse with such rapidity," says he. The transvaluation is not unnatural in view of the fact that the world has adequately assimilated the story and social aspects of the things produced by Murillo. On the other hand, Cheney has high hopes about Cranach (1472-1553), the German master of the sixteenth century. "This somewhat neglected artist seems likely," he believes, "to come into increased rather than lessened favour." "There is nothing quite like his Eves and Venuses in the whole range of Western art." But the author is reasonable enough to admit that Cranach is not a "large" painter. It should be possible to agree in this remark.

It is good to be reminded that Holland affords the "first example of a national art truly democratic, escaped from priestly, kingly and aristocratic domination." Cheney's sociology does not overpower his aesthetics, for he declares at once that the "Dutch exhibit, aside from the work of one genius (Rembrandt), is the most prosaic, unexciting and earthbound." The defects of democracy in regard to the art world are patent on the surface. "Paintings are overproduced and are soon underpriced." The result is that Hals dies a pauper and Rembrandt is buried not as a recognized artist but as an obscure and beggarly Ghetto character. But all the same, an art is born and with it a new way of living for the artist. Cheney's eye sees art and society in the correct perspectives when he asserts that in the Dutch democratic art as created by the unfortunate masters is to be seen the beginning of the story of the artist in the modern capitalist state. This is the commencement also of the modern picturesque and *genre* painting.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been so much dominated by French masters and styles that one almost forgets that France virtually disappeared from the story of art as the Gothic spirit faded. Cheney therefore calls prominent attention to the fact that no great art came out of France in the period 1350 to 1600. We are reminded also that the French masters Poussin (1593-1665) and Claude Lorrain (1600-1682), although somewhat creative, were life-long ex-

patriates, Lorrain being more German than French in all respects. They are rightly to be described as the two "Roman Frenchmen."

In Cheney's analysis British art is literary and intellectual rather than creative. It is pointed out that outside England the name best known in the annals of British art is not that of a painter, a sculptor or an architect but that of a theorist and critic, Ruskin. But in Turner the author observes "England's one major release from literal and earthbound painting." And Blake knew how to "see all things from within, counting imaginative vision the truest reality and the sight of the physical eyes a lesser actuality." He overrode all traditions and touched on forms of expression that are universal and eternal.

The world's aesthetic trend is envisaged by Cheney as follows: From the beginning of the Renaissance to the time of Courbet's (1819-1877) naturalism, says he, there was a steady march of art as surface realism, a gradual refinement of means by which the aspects of nature could be imitated. The great revolution in both aesthetics and practice came when a few radical artists gave up the convention of imitation and reversed the centuries old trend; moved away toward other than representational values.

The nineteenth century is the epoch in which the culmination of realism *par excellence* has been consummated. It is possible to indicate the varieties within this realism. For instance, Davidian classicism or neo-classicism (c 1800) is followed by the romantic (c 1830, e.g., Delacroix). Then comes the so-called realistic (c 1855, Courbet) and this is replaced by the impressionist (c 1875, Monet). All these were but parts of a single phenomenon, the maturing of Renaissance realism. According to Cheney all these movements of 1790-1880 were phases of this secular trend as seen in the light of the post-impressionism (i.e., expressionism) of today (1880-1930). The founder of post-impressionism is Cezanne (1839-1906).

According to Cheney realism cannot be treated as the art of democracy or of the republican age. For, post-impressionism has come in as a revolution in the same countries and societies as fostered the realistic schools. Rather, the rise of nineteenth-century naturalism is to be linked up with the rise of the middle class and the triumph of materialistic philosophies, the correlates of the industrial revolution and the machine age. The bourgeois, the employer, the capitalist is not imaginative enough to appreciate an expression. He

wants pictures that seem unmysterious, in other words, reproductive, anecdotal, *i.e.*, story-telling in print.

Comprehensive as Cheney is, he makes it a point to signalize the rôle of the Orient in the post-impressionist revolution in Eur-American art. This aspect of the relations between East and West was brought in relief in the present author's essay *Hindu Art: Its Humanism and Modernism* (B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1920). "Contemporary artists have been seized by *Wanderlust*," it was observed in that brochure; "Today they draw their inspiration from the Mexicans, the Mayans, and other American-Indians, from the Negro art of the Congo regions, from Karnak and Nineveh, from the Tanagras of Greece and the 'primitives' of Italy. And they roll their eyes from China to Peru. Consequently the Buddhist, Shaiva, Vaishnava, Moghul, and Rajput art of the Hindus could not but have been requisitioned to enlarge the list of the new Ossians and Percy's *Reliques* as whetters of the futuristic imagination of the Western world."

The historic march of realism had led up to impressionism. The epochal nature of the revolution was at first described by connoisseurs temporarily as post-impressionism. But "after a half-century of development it has found a more definitive label, expressionism, a name that seems destined to live because it throws emphasis back upon expression as against imitation." All the major currents of creative painting since 1880 are anti-realistic. The twentieth century artist does not imitate effects discovered in nature. The modern does not illustrate. He avoids the literary or anecdotal approach as well as the documentary or descriptive. We are to understand that in the dynamics of art-culture the oldest—the palæolithic—and the newest (the futurist of today) have met.

The book has come down to Max Weber the modernist of New York and Munch, Kokoschka, Nolde, Pechstein and other expressionists of our own times so far as Eur-America is concerned. A chapter might have been added, therefore, to describe the twentieth-century tendencies in the art creations of Asia in view of the fact that Cheney has sought systematically to show the interactions between East and West. In a study which exhibits the impacts of the Orient upon the latest futurists of the Occident the reader would then have been interested to find that a great deal of what passes for Oriental art in modern and contemporary Asia (including India) is inspired by the

art achievements of the Occident. And this might provide a fine tonic to the artaestheticians as well as art-sociologists, who as a rule think in terms of the East-West polarities even in regard to the present times.

Altogether Cheney has produced a fascinating work which can be conscientiously recommended by every librarian in the world not only to the lay public but also to the higher students or researchers in art-problems. Cheney's interpretations are frankly modernist. But he is objective enough to introduce the reader to the stereotyped views on the specimens or the masters analyzed by him. This should be eminently useful to everybody who wants to get general information about some eight to ten thousand years of aesthetic evolution. The author can be generally trusted as an expert as well as a safe guide.

A RETROSPECTIVE STUDY OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD

TAPONATH CHAKRABARTY, M.A.

It is usual for Western critics to point out that the greatest drawback of the Indian system of education in the past is that it was a half-way house, the product of one section of the community and that women had practically nothing to contribute to the cultural life of the people. It is not uncommon, therefore, to argue that in this respect at least there is a close affinity between the Indian and the Hellenic system of education.

On the one hand, the Indian system of education, specially the Hindu system of education, is said to have been sacerdotal, that is, the monopoly of a narrow priestly oligarchy; on the other, it is said to have implied the total exclusion of women from the intellectual life of the country.

No impartial student of Indian history, however, can ever disbelieve the simple anecdote of Satyakâma which shows unmistakably that caste prejudice could not at least unman the best cultured men of the time, that caste never appeared to be the be-all and end-all of life, that there were always men who lived above such prejudices and who were catholic enough to drag every one within the fold of their intellectual and spiritual life.

There is evidence to believe that the educational life of the people was never dominated wholly by a narrow sacerdotalism even in the worst days of social and intellectual taboos and ethical restrictions when Smṛti writers had tightened their bonds upon society, and when, as is popularly supposed, there was a narrowing down of the former wider intellectual and spiritual outlook of the people, for, even the puritan legislator, Manu, in his well-known Code (Manu, II, 231-240) lays down the rule that one should acquire knowledge even from the lowly Chāṇḍāla, that in the matter of learning one should not hesitate to learn things even from a boy or an enemy. This shows that learning was not the exclusive monopoly of the Brahmins, that considerations of caste had never blinded men so as to lead them to sacrifice common sense and equity

and neglect the higher call of cultural and intellectual life. The classical examples of King Janaka of Mithilâ, who was styled Râjarshi and who was noted alike for his learning as well as sanctity, of the mighty sage Viśvâmitra, who by his merits assumed the rank of a Brâhmin, of the learned Bhîshma—all show that caste was a flexible term and never indicated a watertight compartment as at present, that there was free passage from one caste to another, that the control of education was never vested in the hands of a priestly oligarchy not only in Vedic age but even later, that men of ability and purity were worth the name of a scholar or of a Brâhmin. The same remark applies in the domain of religion, as we find from the examples of Guhaka Chaṇḍâla of the Râmâyana and Yavana Haridâsa of Vaishṇava literature.

The very fact that Manu in his Code (Manu, II, 241) sanctions that in times of danger even Brâhmin pupils should become disciples of non-Brâhmin teachers and thus continue their education shows that there were lots of non-Brâhmin teachers who were quite competent to impart knowledge to Brâhmin pupils even and who were in no way inferior to the Brâhmin teachers. It is clear from the above statement of Manu further that with a view to the spread of education, alone Manu was compelled to lay down such a rule, for, otherwise, there would be a deadlock in society and every kind of cultural activity would cease to exist. This shows that the Brâhmins were not the only custodians of learning and whatever control they had over the intellectual and educational life of the people was due to their superior knowledge and foresight in the matter.

As to the contributions of women to the cultural life of the people, we must begin by pointing out that in the broad field of knowledge there was no such thing as sex disqualification in India; for, the Indian poet triumphantly asserts the favourite educational motto of the people, "Guṇaḥ pūjâsthânam guṇishu, na cha lingam na cha vayaḥ," that is to say, "merit must ever be appreciated regardless of the sex or the age of its incumbent." The great commentator, Sâyanâchârya, while commenting on the R̥gveda says; "The wife and the husband, being two equal halves of one and the same substance, are equal in every respect and both should join and take part in all kinds of work, religious and secular." The sage, Vâtsyâyana, in his well-known work, "Kâmasûtram" (Book I, chapter 3, sūtras 8 to 10), records in a similar way his emphatic

opinion as to why the "Kâmasûtram" should be studied and its practical injunctions properly carried out by every woman. He thus points out that because there is the science of grammar even persons not acquainted with it conform to its demands while offering sacrifices, just as the existence of astronomy is responsible for the performance of holy deeds on auspicious days by persons who have no knowledge of its text. Similarly, as Vâtsyâyana points out, although it is by training and practice that men learn how to ride on a horse or on an elephant, yet in origin even such knowledge is based on some science, the study of which is, therefore, essential. This argument, as Vâtsyâyana points out, holds good not only in the case of Kâma Sâstra but in the case of every other Sâstra or scripture; for, as he points out, when the injunctions of those Sâstras or scriptures are being translated into practice by women, there can be no ground for keeping the literature or texts of those scriptures shut from their view. No better advocate of female education can ever be conceived.

According to the educational philosophy of India culture is the root of all happiness and everyone should be happy on this earth because learning brings in its train modesty which befits a person, from this fitness follows wealth and out of wealth comes virtue which produces bliss.

It is not proper to compare ancient customs with the institutions of modern civilisation; but the historian of India who has studied the literature of the ancient Hindus, can have no hesitation in asserting that never in the most polished days of Egypt, Greece or Rome were women held in such high regard in those countries as in India several thousand years ago. Although Indian women did not mix so freely in the society of men as women do in modern Europe, yet absolute seclusion at home and restraint were unknown in India till the Muhammadan conquest. Athens left her women in seclusion at home and her mighty educational system with all its glory was meant for her male citizens alone. Sparta, although she devised a system of physical education for her women so as to make them mothers of brave and healthy children, left them barren of thought and feeling, of intellect and emotion. The poetess Sappho, considering her age, is, perhaps, the only learned woman of her country and as such formed a notable exception to the general rule. The poetess Alæus is another remarkable exception. The Nile-dweller was not much in advance of his

time in this respect ; he had as his ideal a delightful home, with a faithful wife, courteous to the family and its gods. In India, however, at that early age there were no unhealthy restrictions against women, nor was there any organised attempt to keep them uneducated. As a learned Indian author remarks, " Considered as the intellectual companions of their husbands, as their affectionate helpers in the journey of life, and as the inseparable partners of their religious duties, Hindu wives received the honour and respect due to their position."

The sage, Vâtsyâyana, gives us a picture of Buddhist India which was studded here and there with innumerable nunneries and monastic establishments wherein resided a large number of female ascetics, bhikshuṇīs, śramaṇās and kshapaṇikās and from the pages of his work, " Kâmasûtram," we get a glimpse of the cultural life of Indian women during his days. Thus when Vâtsyâyana lays down that every woman should as far as possible make herself acquainted with at least the relevant portions of the " Kâmasûtram " and be adept in the sixty-four allied arts and asserts (Kâmasûtram, I, iii, 12) that there are lots of such accomplished princesses, daughters of rich nobles and officials (mahâmâtras) and courtesans, we can well imagine the cultural life of Indian women during his days. It is clear thus that education did not only spread amongst women of gentle birth but amongst the courtesans too. Kauṭilya in his Arthaśâstra speaks of accomplished and cultured courtesans whom the king is to employ for the good of his state. A knowledge of the sixty-four arts (châtuh-ṣaṣṭikâ Kalâ), of which Vâtsyâyana speaks, meant a kind of learning which no modern woman can ever conceive ; it comprised a world in itself. The mastery of the sixty-four arts thus implied a knowledge of both vocal and instrumental music (gītam vâdyam), of dancing and painting (nrityam âlekhyam), of forehead decoration and of the art of ornamenting the floor with unbroken rice or loose flower (viśeshaka-chchhedyam taṇḍulakusumabalivikârâḥ), of the art of making floral beds and of adorning the clothes, the teeth and other limbs (puṣpâstarāṇam daśanavasanāṅgarâgâḥ), of the art of making the floor cold by setting pearls and other jewels on it and of the art of making different kinds of bed (maṇibhûmikâkarma śayana-rachanam), of the art of beating the water with the palm of one's hand and making it sound like a drum and of the art of making the water pass through the palm of one's hand, as if through a pipe

(udākaghāṭaḥ), of the art of incantation (chitrāśchayogāḥ), of the art of making wreaths of different kinds and of garland decoration (mālya grathanavikalpāḥ śekharāpīdayojanam), of the art of dressing and of the art of making ear-rings of conch-shell, ivory and so on (nepathyaprayogāḥ karnāpatra-bhaṅgāḥ), of the art of setting pearls and other jewels to various ornaments like coronets, necklaces and so on (gandhayuktiḥ bhūṣanayojanam), of the arts of magic and jugglery (aindrajālāḥ hastalāghavam), of the arts of cooking and embroidery, of the art of making artificial sounds resembling the notes of harp and lute (vīṇāḍamarukavādyāni), of the art of composing and answering puzzles and rhymes (prahelikā pratimālā), of the art of using difficult and eluding words and expressions (durbāchakayogāḥ), of the art of reading and recitation (pustakavāchanam), of dramatic performances and picturesque representation of tales (nāṭakākhyāyikā-darśanam), of the art of developing a stray line into a full-fledged verse (kāvyasamasyā-pūraṇam), of carpentry (takṣhaṇam), of basket making (vetravān vikalpāḥ), of engineering and architecture (vāstu-vidyā), of the art of examining coins and precious stones (rūpyaratna parikshā), of metallurgy, geology and mineralogy (dhātuvāda maṇirāgā-karajñānam), of botany and plant treatment (vrikshāyurvedayogāḥ), of rhetoric and prosody (chhandojñānam), of dictionaries and encyclo-pædias (abhidhānakoshāḥ), of poetics (kriyākālpa), of philology and of the science of languages (deśabhāṣhāvijñānam), of indoor games like chess play, dice play and so on (ākarsyakrīḍā), of physical exercises and of the art of conquering enemies (vaijayikīnām vaināyikī-nāmaḥ vidyānām jñānam) and so on. It is clear from the above account that recreative games and physical education formed a vital part of the programme of female education.

Scientific and industrial education of the most advanced kind was also imparted and, as Vātsyāyana points out, the knowledge of these arts would make courtesans honoured and well-to-do and enable widows to earn a decent living abroad (Kāmasūtram, I, iii, 20-23).

As to the contribution of Indian women to the cultural life of the country, it may be observed that although Indian women never vied with men like women in Modern Europe and abroad for educational franchise and political power yet they always occupied an honourable place in society and the cultural life of India, from the age of the R̥gveda down to the Muhammadan times, is as much indebted to the labours of reputed male scholars as to the silent yet massive contri-

butions of illustrious ladies. Contention with men for co-education and employment had never been the cursed lot of Indian women and with all her culture (*cf.* the case of Khanâ) and physical prowess, she preferred to lead a life of peace and serenity and thus remained true to the traditions of her country, yet with all her milk of maternal tenderness, she was never a weakling, as the tales of Rajput chivalry show, and when occasions demanded, she could and did rise to manly greatness in every sphere of life, intellectual, political and spiritual.

From the very dawn of her history, India has produced lots of scholars and saints among women and their names survive in the literature of the country and the little that we have to-day of the cultural heritage of her past reveals to what a splendid cultural height did Indian women attain during those days. No judicious writer can, therefore, blame the Indians for having made a deliberate attempt from time immemorial to exclude women from every kind of intellectual activity and thus leave them utterly ignorant in the prison cell of their life. The mythology of India is against such a tradition because learning is conceived not as emanating from a male god but from the mother-goddess, Saraswatî.

Lopâmudrâ, the wife of sage Agastya, Vâk, the daughter of Ambhîr and Viśwavârâ of the race of Atri, were all famous composers of some of the well-known hymns of the R̥gveda. Arundhatî, the wife of sage Vasîshṭha, is considered as one of the foremost Ṛṣis or saints of the R̥gveda and along with her husband she was given an honourable place in the Saptarshi-Maṇḍala or Circle of Seven Sages of the R̥gveda, which was personified later on by a constellation of stars. There were lots of other female savants and saints during the R̥gvedic age. Women scholars participated freely in the learned discussions of the Upanishads which embody the highest spiritual thoughts and the deepest philosophical speculations of the Hindu mind. Amidst the galaxy of women scholars of that age the names of Gârgî, Maitreyî and Târâ survive down to this day with a peculiar splendour. In the Brihadâranyaka Upanishad, Gârgî is described as rising proudly amidst the crowd of learned men in the court of King Janaka and challenging with her questions the mighty sage, Yâjñavalkya, who had silenced the storm of questions raised by his opponents. Maitreyî, the learned wife of the sage Yâjñavalkya, is spoken of in the Upanishads as being an intellectual partner of her nestor lord. When her husband requested her to live alone with all the wealth of his house-

hold, she made her prophetic utterance, "Yenâham nâmrîtâsyâm, kimaham tena kuryâm," i.e., "What shall I do with things which do not lead to immortal life."

The "therigâthâs" of the Buddhist period were composed by learned Buddhist nuns and the nunneries were the abodes of a large number of women scholars and saints. The "Vijaganita" is said to be the work of the immortal Lîlâvatî. The astronomical sayings of Khanâ are preserved even now in Bengal. The "Sâmnudrik Tattva" of "Phalita Jyotisha" perished with her departure, and though none of her astronomical works is extant to-day, yet the fragments that we have of her sayings bespeak her keenness of intellect and mighty power of observation. It is needless to dwell on the old legend of Ubhaya Bhârati, the learned wife of Maṇḍana Miśra, to whom the mighty Śaṅkarâchârya had at first to bow down his head.

Tradition affirms that the wife of the celebrated poet, Kâlidâsa, was a highly educated woman and from the fire of her tongue the poetic inspiration of her husband had its birth. Râjyaśrî, the sister of the emperor Harshavardhana, seems to have been a cultured lady and there can be no doubt that queen Diddâ of Kashmîr and Rudrâmbâ of Telengana were able and accomplished women.

The cultural life of Indian women did not stop with the Muhammadan conquest of India but continued slowly and silently although absolute seclusion of women now became the usual rule. Queen Razia, daughter of Il-tut-mish, seems to have been an accomplished lady. So also were Nurjehan, Mumtaz Mahal, Jahanara and others who had great influence on contemporary politics. Gul-Badan, the daughter of Babar, is said to have written the Humayun Nama or the memoirs of Humayun and a niece of Humayun is said to have composed poems in Persian. The nurse of Akbar, Maham Anga, is said to have been an educated lady. Ghiyas-ud-din, the ruler of Malwa from 1469 to 1500 A.D., is said to have appointed schoolmistresses for the education of the ladies of his harem and Akbar is said to have done similar things and to have kept apart rooms for this purpose in his new capital at Fatehpur Sikri.

Hindu ladies, too, were not steeped in universal darkness. The 'bhajan' songs of Mirâ Bâi, wife of Râṇâ Kumbha of Chitor, are characterised by a warmth of devotion and a superb spirit of surrender to the will of God. In the history of Vaishṇava literature the names of Râmî, Mâdhavî, and Rasamayî are well known. According to some

scholars Râmî is the first poetess of the Bengali language. Sîtâ, the wife of Advaita, had many disciples and it seems that she was an accomplished lady. Ahalyâ Bâi of Indore, the Maratha queen, Târâ Bâi, Lakshmî Bâi of Jhansi, and Râpî Bhabânî of Natore in North Bengal were all notable ladies who were alike noted for their heroism, intelligence and munificence.

It is evident from the above account that the Indian system of education, with all the rigidity of its external framework in the shape of its emphasis on the social virtues of women and its militant caste exclusiveness, was, nevertheless, a meet product of the conservative genius of the Indian people and the very fact that it long survived the onslaught of ages shows that it proved a flexible and a workable instrument in the hands of the people for whom it was intended. The modern system of education in the United States of America where radicalism prevails and liberalism runs riot may seem to be just the reverse of the Indian system. Yet the latter kept aglow the torch of learning for ages among both sexes while the former is yet in its infancy, ever in the melting pot without any basic tradition or fixed principle.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HARDY'S DETERMINISM—I

BANSI DHAR

ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORM BILL OF 1832

ON one occasion the Russian ambassador had ventured to remind Napoleon that man proposes, God disposes. "I am he that proposes," Napoleon thundered back, and "I am he that disposes." Such was the ferment of thought set up by the French Revolution. Neither religion nor social tradition enjoyed any respect in France. England was, however, free from this scepticism till the end of the Napoleonic wars; the whole nation had to show a united front to the menace to Continental peace and the inveterate enemy of the British. The three emperors of Russia, Austria and Prussia proclaimed at the Congress of Vienna their determination to apply the principles of justice, Christian charity and peace to the external and internal relations. But a contrary deal, in which the cynical Matternich was instrumental in the suppression of liberty, gave rise to the anti-religious feeling of Continental Socialism.¹

Till about 1830 England enjoyed comparative peace. Its commerce prospered, and its aristocracy lived in a sense of religious and social complacency. This was, however, lull before the storm. A large and wealthy class of manufacturers was not likely to acquiesce in the monopoly of power held by the territorial aristocracy; the workers, in their turn, would not be content to see the middle classes only as partners in that power. Franchise widened with the passing of the Reform Bills of 1832, 1867 and 1884. This political emancipation was part of a general movement for liberty in the various spheres of life. The repeal of the Conventual Act in 1826 and of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828 led to the emancipation of the Roman Catholics in 1829 and to that of the Jews in 1858-60. By 1880 the Roman Catholics were freed from the liability to be married by a Church of England clergyman for marriage to have legal force and were free to hold their own burial services. The slave trade was abolished in the

¹ The system of those who wish to transform society by the incorporation in the community of the means of production, the return of the property to the collectivity, and the distribution among all of the common labour and the objects of consumption.

British possessions in 1807 and the anti-slavery Bill passed in 1833, emancipating 800,000 men and women.

The workers too benefited by the liberalising spirit of the time. The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 were repealed in 1824. Robert Owen, himself an employer of labour, became one of the chief advocates of trade unions. The agitation thus started resulted in the passing of the Factory Act in 1847, prohibiting the employment of women and children in factories for more than ten hours a day. The Elementary Education Act of 1870 and the Free Education Act of 1891 gave the masses opportunities to improve themselves mentally and think, however haltingly, for themselves. The year 1832 is a landmark in the history of England. The need for freedom—political, social and religious—had been recognized and the years that follow saw it broadened in all directions of life. Perhaps the slowest to yield was religion. The father of Dr. Pusey would speak of Whigs and "Atheists" as members of a single class, and opposed for years the marriage of his eldest son to Lady Emily Herbert solely because she was a member of a leading Whig family. This conservatism did not necessarily mean devotion and piety however mistaken. Men like Thomas Arnold, the famous headmaster of Rugby, John Keble and John Henry Newman were deploring "slackness." To them stagnation in morals seemed to promise speedy disease. In the extraordinary Black Book of 1831 the Church, together with the aristocracy, the Bank of England, the East India Company and other established societies, was exposed in all the shame of their many abuses.

The attitude of the bishops to the Reform Bill was reactionary. During the disturbances that followed the rejection of the Bill in 1831 at Bristol the palace of the bishop was burnt down. Among the spectators was Charles Kingsley,² then a schoolboy at Clifton. It was his first lesson in what is called "Social Science." Barring a few ardent souls and still fewer reforming Evangelical bishops like Henry Ryder,³ the Church as a whole was, before the rise of the Oxford Movement, tainted with Erastianism.⁴ The movement itself was a reaction against both Liberalism which appeared to be degenerating into an anarchism of thought in religion and the demoralisation of the

² Alton Locke by Kingsley published in 1850 breathes unrest when all appears so quiet.

³ Others were Charles Sumner, his brother John Bird Sumner.

⁴ Erastianism: The System of Erastus (Thomas Liebler, 16th century) and of his successors which consisted of subordinating the Church to the State.

Anglican Church. Before entering upon the religious and philosophical outburst of 1832-70, we must rapidly survey the literary background of the first three decades of the nineteenth century. For though the Anglo-French tension persists, literary influences imperceptibly travel from France to England. This was the flowering period of the genius of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley and Byron, all born in the eighteenth century, and it was during this period that Newman (1801), Froude (1803), Disraeli (1804), J. S. Mill (1806), Tennyson (1807), Darwin (1809), Thackeray (1811), Dickens (1812), Browning (1812), Emile Brontë (1814), Charles Reade (1814), Charlotte Brontë (1816), George Henry Lewes (1817), George Eliot (1819), Ruskin (1819), Herbert Spencer (1820), Matthew Arnold (1822), Wilkie Collins (1824), T. Henry Huxley (1825), Walter Bagehot (1826), were born. Carlyle, born in 1795, forms a bridge between the Romanticism of the Lake School and the Realism of the mid-Victorian period. His romanticism is rooted in the transcendental philosophy of Germany and his realism, while it does not ignore the Chartist movement, the poor law and the spiritual unrest of his time, looks back for its model and remedies to the mediæval period.⁵

The foreign influences entered England through Coleridge. To Lessing (1729-81), said Saintsbury, the Germans owed Goethe and the English Coleridge. His "Laocoon" on the limits of several arts inspired the English poet. But it was Herder (1744-1803) who, influenced by Rousseau, awakened the latent lyricism of Germany. He announced that poetry is the mother-tongue of mankind. Poetry "is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings," wrote Wordsworth in the Preface to "Lyrical Ballads." "The more remote heirs of the thought of Lessing and Herder were the great French critics, Sainte-Beuve and Taine, the nearest heirs were Wordsworth and Coleridge."⁶ Both these English poets had the same recognition of the necessity of turning to old songs and ballads. Lessing wanted ordinary life and the ordinary man to be expressed in the drama, Wordsworth wanted him to be expressed in poetry. The former wanted the speech of the drama to be the actual speech of men, the latter wanted to banish the eighteenth century poetic diction. It was Goethe (1749-1832), five years younger to Herder, who shaped the mind of Carlyle who

⁵ See "Past and Present" by Carlyle.

⁶ "From These Roots" by Mary M. Colum, Chap. III, § 2, p. 54.

translated his *Wilhelm Meister* (1824) and wrote a life of Schiller (1825).⁷ His general theory of the world is full of borrowings from Herder, Fichte, Schelling, Novalis, J. B. Richter and Goethe. Modern society in his opinion is diseased and the Romanticists' malady of the soul as in Shelley and Byron the sign of an inner corruption. The Byronic age must be followed by that of Goethe. Self-forgetfulness, renunciation, action—such are the laws which govern the psychological well-being of the soul. In "Past and Present" he harks upon the simplicity and virile sincerity of the mediæval times.

The French influence in the nineteenth century first came through Madame de Staële. Her greatest work "*De L'Allemagne*" (1810-13), in which she introduced to the French the great literary and philosophic movement that had been proceeding in Germany during the previous half century, proved distasteful to Napoleon. The first impression (1810) was destroyed and the work was ultimately published in England in 1813 and the author was exiled. Her theory of literature as an expression of society stimulated many writers both on the Continent and in England. The view she held of Romanticism—sorrowful sentiment of the incompleteness of human destiny—was in effect the realism of the pessimistic writers of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The ideas were on the march and each age and each nation was to effect its own synthesis. Sainte-Beuve (1804-19), following in the footsteps of the Lake Poets, attempted to write of humble life and the humblest things in life. He demonstrated the primacy of the individual and the importance of the personal and the ego in literature. His influence may be traced in the autobiographical novels of the Victorian periods in works like "*David Copperfield*" and "*Pendennis*." But it was Taine (1828-93) that greatly influenced the novelists in England. His "philosophy was a materialistic determinism which, as he worked it out in literature, had points common with the manner in which Marx applied the dialectic of materialism to History."⁸

Determinism in the words of Fowler is the "theory that action is determined by motives themselves determined by causes independent of the will." This implied a denial of free will and was countenanced by the analysis of the external world into laws of motion by Newton

⁷ Coleridge had translated Schiller's "*Wallenstein's Death*" into English verse in 1800 when Carlyle was only five years old.

⁸ See "*From These Roots*" by Mary M. Colum, Chap. V, § 4, p. 118.

(1642-1727), by Diderot's (1713-84) conclusion that matter is instinct with mind, Holbach's (1723-89) systematic attempt to bring man and matter alike into his rigid and logical "system of Nature." These views were further enforced by Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), the author of "the World as Will and Idea." Will which is self-conscious in man finds its equivalent in the unconscious forces of nature. Will, then, it is that creates the world. The world is not an illusion but a malignant thing, which inveigles us into producing and perpetuating life. This Will-to-Live must be overcome. God, free will and immortality of the soul are illusions. There is an inherent contradiction in this attitude. If there is no free will and our lives are entirely at the mercy of a malignant power there is no point in advising us to overcome the Will-to-Live. However, this shows the philosophical background against which Taine was working. The contributions of Gustav Theodore Fechner (1801-87) and Rudolph Hermann Lotze (1817-81) point also to a deterministic outlook on life, though they import God by the backdoor. Fechner held that, since physics conceives atoms only as loci of force or energy, there is no reason to assume that the ultimate constituents of the physical world are material. His scientific studies supported the view that the physical may be interpreted as inwardly psychical. To him behind the phenomena does not lie a dark unknowable⁹ but a psychical life like our own. The physical and psychical are not, as in the identity theory of Spinoza, two aspects of a third principle, but the psychical is the substance and physical is the aspect. God is the all-inclusive system of nature. The soul of God is related to the soul of man as the ground swell to the waves which it carries. All of nature belongs to God's body, and is the outward manifestation of one psychical continuum, which is God's soul."¹⁰ This again lands us into determinism with the only difference that here God determines and not a dark unknowable. There is however the consolation

God's in His heaven—
All's right with the world.

Another philosopher in the same line is Rudolph Hermann Lotze (1817-81). His metaphysics starts with the mechanical conception of nature, as a system of interacting corporeal units. But they are

⁹ Cf. Hardy's "Immanent Will."

¹⁰ Fechner, "Elements der Psychophysik," Vol: II, p. 529.

all active rather than extended, and there is no plurality in their relations. Their interaction implies that they are in reality only phases of some underlying substance unitary in nature. Concluding his *Microcasmus* which he offers as a "confession of his philosophic faith" he holds that God is a single power and appears to us under a threefold image—first some definite and desired good, then on account of the definiteness of this, a formed and developing Reality, and finally in this activity an unvarying reign of law. So here again the last word is determinism though of a spiritual nature.

Such were the literary and philosophical tendencies which, through translation and increasing contact, were influencing the English thinkers in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) is the earliest representative in England of modern empiricism. He is certainly not the inventor of utility as an ethical principle. This materialistic attitude is the outcome of the English and French enlightenment. The reading of the third volume of Hume's "Treatise of Human Nature" gave him a new insight into the importance of utility for human conduct. Among his contemporaries Godwin (1756-1836), Malthus (1766-1834) and Ricardo (1772-1823) moved along the paths of utilitarian thought. They do not belong to the philosophic movement of which James Mill (1773-1836) and John Stuart Mill (1806-73) were the real inheritors but to that spiritual *milieu* which draws its nourishment from philosophy. Godwin assails the existing social order and regards pleasure and happiness as the motives of human action. Malthus intended to give a rude shock to the belief in the ever-increasing perfectability of man and society and drew attention to the iron law that population increases much faster than the means of support. Ricardo developed the economic aspect of Bentham's theory in his "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation." His views were only surpassed by Adam Smith (1723-90) in his classical work "An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" published in 1776 and appearing on the actual date of the 'Declaration of Independence' of the American rebels. He prophesied in Book IV: "They will be one of the foremost nations of the world." In short the movement of thought was towards emphasizing the environment and the psychological impulses as the determinant factors in shaping the life of man and the future of society. After Bentham the main stream of utilitarian thought is continued in James Mill (1773-1836). "He forms a bridge from the refounder of

empiricism to its completer: from Bentham to his own son John Stuart Mill." ¹¹ To J. S. Mill we shall return later.

The metaphysical tendency of utilitarianism and the new economics was towards agnosticism. A similar movement had been started by St. Simon (1760-1825) in France. He sought to reorganize society on a socialistic basis by a better organization of industry and labour. Auguste Comté (1798-1857) came under his influence and developed the Positivist philosophy which excludes metaphysics and revealed religion and substitutes for them the religion of humanity and sociological ethics, based on history and designed for the improvement of human race. According to him there are three stages of knowledge, the theological, the metaphysical, the positive, and hence his avoidance of metaphysical problems and theological entanglements. But towards the end of his life he attempted to frame a positivist religion which is a sort of parody of Roman Catholicism with sacraments, prayers, etc. His principal English disciple was Frederic Harrison (1831-1923). George Henry Lewes (1817-78) in his "Biographical History of Philosophy" (1845-46) is under the influence of Positivistic thought. But Positivism, though it influenced among others J. S. Mill, did not take root in England. The last phase of Comté's thought attempted a pseudo-religious rigidity and to this Mill could not reconcile himself. However, it left its traces in the philosophical systems of Herbert Spencer and Leslie Stephen and in the works of George Eliot.

Lastly, we must analyse the French literary tendencies which were growing in importance and influence in the course of the decade at the end of which was born Thomas Hardy, the subject of this thesis. Taine's method was improved upon by Balzac (1799-1850), who in his "Comedie Humaine" attempted to be the secretary of the French Society and represent faithfully and minutely the whole of its complex system. Yet according to the realists his art was a sort of gigantization of life. "No delineation of character or of surroundings," says Croce, but he exaggerates to the extent of making it altogether marvellous and fantastic." Baudelaire described his characters as more eager for life, more active and wily in combat, more voracious of joy, more angelic in devotion than the human comedy of the real world could show. His influence can be traced in the works of Dickens and Thackeray in England, Flaubert (1821-88)

¹¹ "A Hundred Years of British Philosophy" by Rudolph Metz (pub. 1938), pp. 57-58.

and Zola (1840-1902) in France, Turgenev (1818-83), Dostoevsky (1821-81) and Tolstoy (1828-1910) in Russia and Ibsen (1828-1906) in Norway.

UNREST DEEPENS (1832-70)—INFLUENCES ON HARDY'S MIND

Political awakening, Utilitarian philosophy, realistic outlook of the novel writers like Dickens and Thackeray, the satiric vein of Peacock (1785-1866), the political and social novel of Disraeli, the laxity in morals as witnessed in the regency of George IV and an open trial for adultery of George IV's wife—all portend to a deep unrest, and to a frantic effort for the search for balance. With Carlyle lies the task of voicing the principles which should preside over the national return to a sterner notion of duty. But Carlyle was no churchman. Keble (1792-1866), Froude (1803-36), Pusey (1800-82), Newman (1801-90) and Manning (1808-92) are also actuated by the same motives, but it is through the Tractarian Movement, better known as the Oxford Movement, that they seek to bring the stray sheep into the fold. The beginnings of it date back to 1833 and the climax is reached in 1845 with the secession of Newman. It was in this atmosphere surcharged with dismay and yet brightened up with streaks of hope that Queen Victoria begins her reign. A wide gulf divides the High Victorians from the Late Victorians. From 1837 to 1870 or 1875 a sort of balance is sought to be struck in social ethics, politics and religious observations, and scepticism incidental to scientific research is repressed by meek faith in God, Christ, Eternity and Love. The years that follow the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign are marked with increasing disbelief in conventions, traditional religion and morality. Political unrest again increases and the century closes with an anxious time for the British Government engaged in the prolonged Boer War. The first period is the period of mental assimilation for Hardy and the latter of the expression of his philosophy. We shall now examine the reaction to the influences coming from the early decades of the nineteenth century which produced Tennyson and Browning and sent to quiet meditation Spencer, Leslie Stephen, Darwin and Hardy.

The year 1833 witnessed a stir in the fold of the Anglican Church. It was the revolt against Liberalism in thought of which the Reform Bill of 1832 was a fruit. Keble, Froude, Palmer, Pusey, Newman and

later on Manning took Liberalism to mean not reverent search after truth, but an aggressive and narrow rationalism which tended to prefer intellectual to moral excellence and "in general the anti-dogmatic principle."¹² So they set themselves to attack latitudinarian ideas. Evangelicals, like Colenso,¹³ though trying to reform the church were considered to be too much under the influence of German philosophy and theology. Inside the church there was much to dissatisfy the devoted souls. Fears were entertained that the church was being hitched on to the chariot of the state and the ecclesiastics were budding statesmen rather than pastors of their flock. Devotion, reverence and asceticism of thought were promiscuous by their absence. This degeneracy and decay in morals was shocking. Scientific ideas which promoted rationalistic tendencies were preventing human understanding by obscuring the illative vision which was a sort of religious intuition. Hence it was necessary to retrace the course of Christian belief to the fathers of the primitive Eastern church. In this they were inspired by Herder who had emphasized the need for reviving the past heritage of history to create a new romance of history. To do it effectively for the church Keble started the Tractarian Movement and was joined by a band of devoted workers like Froude, Palmer, Walter Hook, Dr. Pusey and Newman. Their object in the words of one of the Tractarians was to inculcate: "You must search for yourself and God must teach you." It was to save people from the tyranny of rationalistic ideas and to urge them to assert their individuality. Hence the necessity for telling them where to look for inspiration and guidance. Sympathy and fellowship of the mood were the watchwords of this fraternity. The most dominating figure of the Oxford Movement was Newman. Originally he aimed at a re-orientation of the Anglican Church and defended the Anglo-Catholic view till 1837-38. But he soon found himself drifting to Roman Catholicism which was a natural corollary to the revival of the primitive Church institutions. He resigned the living of St. Mary in 1843 and joined the Church of Rome in 1845. In this he was followed by Manning in 1851.

This drastic step raised a storm of opposition. Charles Kingsley accused Newman of deprecating truth, that is, scientific search for truth

¹² "Apologia Pro Vita Sua" by Newman, p. 54.

¹³ Mjlmán's "History of the Jews" published in 1830. Dean Stanley has recorded "the horror created in remote rural districts by the rumour that a book has appeared in which Abraham was described as a 'Sheikh'."

and independence of opinion. To this Newman gave a reply in "Apologia Pro Vita Sua." He did not defend or countenance the evils of the Roman Catholic Church but argued how for the fullness of Christian life it was necessary to recognise Apostolic Succession and the Roman Catholic Church as the only repository of the teaching of Christ. The years from 1832 to 1870 are thus an important epoch in the development of ideas in the nineteenth-century. The Oxford Movement provoked satirical comments from Carlyle, Kingsley repudiated it, Ruskin declared himself violently opposed to the Tractarians. But literature was not altogether uninfluenced by it. Pre-Raphaelitism and still later æsthetic renaissance owe much to the sensuous appeal of the rituals the Oxford Movement revived. It also exerted influence over the imagination of Tennyson. Novels such as those of Miss Yonge,¹⁴ and later, of Shorthouse,¹⁵ reflect it to the full. But more than all this is the importance of the Oxford Movement as a quiescent force from 1850 to 1870 when all was quiet on the front. In 1870 we see the beginning of what has been called the Neo-Romantic movement, one element of which was to be a renaissance of religious fervour so characteristic of the Oxford Movement. And by a process as if it were of Hegelian dialectic, the other element gave rise to moral anguish and to the suffering born of unbelief. The revival and deepening of religion came through Moody and Sankey and their followers and disciples. Even Canon Liddon, who cannot be suspected of undue favour, publicly testifies to the good done by these apostles of faith in their mission to Oxford in 1875. Hort in a letter to Westcott describes a service in Great St. Mary's and ends up: "Assuredly the springs of life are strangely breaking forth anew."¹⁶ The second component finds its representatives in James Thomson (1834-82), in his chief poem "The City of Dreadful Night," in Swinburne (1837-1909),¹⁷ Hardy (1840-1928), Gissing (1857-1903) and A. E. Housman (1859-1936).

In the realm of philosophy new tendencies were in the course of formation. Writing in 1835, John Stuart Mill complained that philosophy was falling more and more into disrepute and that great events had ceased to inspire great ideas. About the same time similar views concerning the low estate of English philosophy had been expressed

¹⁴ "The Heir of Redclyffe" (1853).

¹⁵ "John Inglesant" (1881).

¹⁶ Quoted in "Religion in the Victorian Era" by L. E. Elliott-Binns, pub. 1936, p. 212.

¹⁷ "Songs before Sunrise" (1871).

by Sir William Hamilton and by Thomas Carlyle. A foreign observer, Hegel, had spoken with scorn of the usage of the word 'Philosophy,' in the English language. Carlyle focussed the attention of the reading public on the ultimate meaning and value of life. But Hamilton and James Mill were the leaders of a marked revival of interest in speculative topics. James Mill's chief philosophical work was his "Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind" (1829). He follows Hume and Hartley and reduces the mental phenomena into their simplest elements and the association of these into groups and succession by the law of contiguity and inseparable association. His son, John Stuart Mill, accepted the Happiness Principle of Bentham and the Association Psychology of his father. Thus while on the religious side the emphasis was on the illative sense, Mill shifted the emphasis on to Empiricism which was the social and political creed of all sorts and manners of liberals from 1832 to 1860 or even 1870. His "System of Logic" (1843) is, in its inductive portion, an epitome of empiricism applied to the explanation of the genesis of human knowledge. But more important than his logic is his ethical system known as Utilitarianism which first appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1861. Like his predecessors Mill postulated certain forces as determining human conduct: especially self-interest and mental association. Mill died in 1873. After his death were published "Three Essays on Religion: Nature, the Utility of Religion and Theism," (1874). These were written between 1850 and 1870. In his works he had always maintained the attitude afterwards called agnosticism, for which he was willing to adopt Comté's term 'positivism.' His book "Auguste Comté and Positivism" (1865) accepted the view that the essential nature and the ultimate cause of things are inscrutable. But he held that this "positive mood of thought is not necessarily a denial of the Supernatural." It only throws it back beyond the limits of science. In his last essay he expounded a tentative and limited form of theism—the doctrine of a finite God. However the nature of the beyond remained a baffling problem.

The fifties and sixties were also remarkable for an outburst of passion for the study of and propaganda for the positive philosophy of Comté. Harriet Martineau issued a condensed translation of his "Positive Philosophy" in 1853. The catechism of "Positive Religion" was translated by Richard Congreve in 1858. In 1865 appeared "Comté's General View of Positivism" by John Henry Bridges and

"System of Positive Polity" by Bridges and Frederic Harrison in 1875. The criticism of J. S. Mill of the latter-day views of Comté was replied to by Bridges in "The Unity of Comté's Life and Doctrine" (1866).

These empirical system had two reactions or rather one reaction and a scientific line of advancement. The reaction came from a disciple of Hamilton¹⁸ (Reid's School), Henry L. Mansel (1820-71). He tried to defend Hamilton and himself from Mill's attack. His Bampton Lectures on "The Limits of Religious Thoughts" (1858) tried to show that all our efforts to discover by means of thought anything about the absolute divine nature were doomed to failure. The absolute and infinite are completely inaccessible to man's finite understanding. In matters of faith thought is completely impotent and must in the end confess its bankruptcy. How near to Mansel did Mill come in his last essay! But the issues raised by this controversy were too fundamental to be shelved by the later thinkers. Henry Calderwood (1830-97) wanted to bury the ghost of agnosticism inherent in the philosophy of Hamilton and Mill. He refuted Hamilton's argument that the human mind as being finite cannot know the infinite. To the agnostic relativism which was inherent in Hamilton but was first made into a basic philosophic principle by Spencer, he opposed the genuine intuitionism of Reid. We are immediately conscious of God. This was the thesis developed by him in "Handbook of Moral Philosophy" (1872). This Scottish doctrine, which in the middle of the century had been the focus of philosophic life in England, was driven more and more from its commanding position by the pressure of Darwinism and idealism represented by Green (1836-82), Bradley (1846-1924) and Bosanquet (1848-1923).

Another reaction was an intensification of human efforts to penetrate the mystery of the unknown. It deepened the agnostic tendencies of Mill's empiricism and positivism which had "flowed together in one wide channel"¹⁹ in Mill. Comté's conception of

¹⁸ Reid (1710-96), Dugald Stewart (1753-1828)—School of Intuition.

Thomas Brown (1778-1820). Compromise between the associationist tendencies of the older Empiricism and the Intuitionist views of Reid. He forms a bridge from the philosophy of common sense to the later empiricism of two Mills, Bain and Spencer.

Sir William Hamilton (1788-1856). His principle of relativity leads to Agnosticism from which it is saved by his theology. J. S. Mill had criticized his philosophy in "An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy," 1865, which gave it a set-back. But the most damaging criticism came from John Hutchison Sterling.

¹⁹ "A Hundred Years of British Philosophy" by Metz, p. 68.

society as an organism evolving to perfection was adopted by Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and Leslie Stephen (1832-1904). The metaphysical principle underlying this was borrowed by Spencer from the relativity of knowledge set forth by Hamilton and Mansel but was adapted to suit his own speculation. Hamilton held that whatever lay beyond the sphere of exact knowledge was in the sphere of belief; Spencer held that we have an indefinite consciousness of what he nevertheless calls the unknowable. He asserted that this unknowable is "growing clearer." It is constantly referred to as a power and is even believed to make for the happiness of mankind and for growing perfection. Religion and Science can be reconciled by assigning to the latter the region of knowable and restricting the former to the unknowable. The unknowable consists of manifestations of the inscrutable power behind the phenomena and these manifestations depend ultimately upon the persistence of force. This is the proverbial new compromise of 1860-70. The mathematicians and physicists who come later considered this interpretation of the principle of the persistence of force as loose and unscientific. But to him it is a law of progress which will issue in a highest state establishing "the extremest multiformity and most complete moving equilibrium." However there is nothing permanent about this equilibrium, for Spencer contemplates the history of the universe as a succession of cycles—"alternate eras of evolution and dissolution." As for the standard for right conduct he finds it in "absolute ethics" by which he means a description of the conduct of fully-evolved man in fully-evolving surroundings. In this complete adaptation between the individual and his environment no choice of better or worse will remain. This individualistic note in the philosophy of Spencer deserves attention, for it is discovered that the hoped for adaptation is not easy to achieve and the optimistic outlook gives place to pessimism in Thomson, Hardy and Housman.

Leslie Stephen, unlike Spencer but like Comté, identifies morality with the claims of society upon the individual in contrast with the individual claims or wishes. But he prefers the indefinite phrase 'social tissue' for the 'social organism' of Comté. Individualism lurks in the background in his discussions. Comté says: "You are members one of another, be loyal members of the social whole." Stephen would seem to suggest: "You are very dependent on the social tissue; still you have a centre of being in yourself and there

is always the possibility left that it may pay you to defy society." The situation is baffling. What is moral is not personal but social. What is personal is not moral but hedonistic. This is exactly the trouble with the characters of Hardy. Most of them that bring tragedy on themselves are those who belittle society and are hedonistic or self-assertive. But they cannot defy society, that is, they feel they must submit to social morals. The realization comes too late. Stephen also dismisses Spencer's ideal of balance between egoism and altruism as a utopian dream. He appeals however to recognized moral duties and maxims as guides to social welfare. Not pleasure or computation of visible results, as with the utilitarians, but health or vitality of the social tissue, is to be the test. But when he speaks as a man to individual men there is instantly a relapse into hedonism and that of a selfish sort. Stephen's reading of Mill, Comté and Kant inclined him to scepticism and he relinquished orders in 1870.²⁰ In 1873 he published his "Essays on Free Thinking and Plain Speaking," defining his agnostic position and his 'Agnostic's Apology' appeared in the "Fortnightly" for June, 1876. So for the first time agnosticism makes its appearance as a philosophical creed. We find pleadings for it in George Eliot's Journal and its culmination in the philosophy of Nietzsche (1844-1900).

(To be continued)

²⁰ Hardy's account of his renunciation of holy orders: "One day (March 23, 1875) I received from Stephen a mysterious note asking me to call in the evening as late as I liked. I went and found him alone, wandering up and down in his library in slippers. After a few remarks on our magazine arrangements, he said he wanted me to witness his signature to what, for a moment, I thought his will; but it turned out to be a deed renunciatory of holy orders under the Act of 1870,"—"The Early Years of Thomas Hardy" by Florence Emily Hardy, p. 139.

NEW LIGHT ON THE MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS OF 1909 *

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

Department of History, Calcutta University

IN explaining the reasons for the legislative and administrative reforms of 1909, the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report point out that, the impulses which led to the initiation of reforms were partly internal and partly external (M.C. Report, para. 72). In their opinion fourteen years' experience of the reforms of 1892 had been encouraging ; criticism of Government in Councils had been temperate, and many valuable suggestions from non-official members not infrequently received. Non-official speakers in Council and the Indian National Congress were pressing for further constitutional advance. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, Lord Curzon's Indian Universities Act of 1904, and his Partition of Bengal created a feeling of unrest and discontent in the country. In these circumstances, Lord Minto, who became Governor-General in November, 1905, of his own initiative but with the full cognizance and consent of the Secretary of State, Mr. John Morley, appointed a Committee of his Council in August, 1906, to consider among other matters the increase of the representative element in the Indian and provincial Legislative Councils. Lord Minto's supposed reasons for so doing may be stated in his own words :—

“Indian affairs and the methods of Indian administration have never attracted more public attention in India and at Home than at the present moment. The reasons for their doing so are not far to seek. The growth of education which British rule has done so much to encourage is bearing fruit. Important classes of population are learning to realise their own position, to estimate for themselves their own intellectual capacities, and to compare their claims for an equality of citizenship with those of a ruling race, whilst the directing influences of political life at Home are simultaneously in full accord with the advance of political thought in India.”

* Read before the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, December, 1939.

" We, the Government of India, cannot shut our eyes to present conditions. The political atmosphere is full of change ; questions are before us which we cannot afford to ignore, and which we must attempt to answer ; and to me it would appear all-important that the initiative should emanate from us, that the Government of India should not be put in the position of appearing to have its hands forced by agitation in this country or by pressure from Home, that we should be the first to recognise surrounding conditions to place before His Majesty's Government the opinions which personal experience and a close touch with the every-day life of India entitle us to hold." (M.C. Report, p. 47).

From a perusal of Montagu-Chelmsford Report and especially of Lord Minto's own words, it seems that the motive which influenced Lord Minto and the Government of India in making the reform proposals of 1906-09 was an anxiety to recognise the justice of Indian political and national aspirations. But a close study of the correspondence between Morley and Minto as published in Lord Morley's *Recollections* (1917), and Lady Minto's *Diary* (Macmillan & Co., 1935) gives a rather different impression and leads to other conclusions. From his letters to the Secretary of State, Mr. John Morley, it appears that one main object of Lord Minto in suggesting reforms was to bring into political activity those forces of Indian opinion which could not be supposed to lean towards the political views of the Indian National Congress. George V made a tour of India as Prince of Wales in the winter of 1905-06, and returned to England in the spring of 1906. In a letter to the Viceroy, dated 11th May, 1906, Morley says : " Yesterday I had a long conversation with the Prince of Wales, in which he gave me an immensely interesting account of his impressions in India. . . . His key-word is that we should get on better if our administrators showed *wider sympathy*. . . . He talked of the National Congress rapidly becoming a great power. My own impression formed long ago, and confirmed since I came to this office, is that it will mainly depend upon ourselves whether the Congress is a power for good or for evil. There it is, whether we like it or not " (Morley's *Recollections*, Vol. II, pp. 170-71). To this letter Minto replied on May 28, 1906 : " As to Congress . . . there is much that is absolutely disloyal in the movement and that there is 'danger for the future.' I have no doubt you see extracts from the vernacular press ; the great bulk of the tone of it can only be termed

disloyal, and the Bengali editor is spreading his influence throughout India I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible *counterpoise to Congress aims*. I think we may find a solution in the Council of Princes, or in an elaboration of that idea; a Privy Council not only of Native Rulers, but of a few other big men to meet, say once a year, for a week or a fortnight at Delhi for instance.) Subjects for discussion and procedure would have to be very carefully thought out, but we should get different ideas from those of Congress, emanating from men already possessing great interest in the good government of India.

* * * *

“ I cannot say how much I am with you as to ‘ *sympathy*.’ But with all one’s desire for ‘ sympathy ’ one must not lose sight of hard facts. We are here a small British garrison, surrounded by millions composed of factors of an inflammability unknown to the western world, unsuited to western forms of Government, and we must be physically strong or go to the wall ” (Lady Minto’s Diary, pp. 23-29).

It is perhaps idle now to speculate in what spirit and with what object the words of the Prince of Wales were uttered to Morley, and with what purpose in view they were subsequently communicated by the Secretary of State to the Governor-General of India. But it is clear that on the Governor-General, Lord Minto, they had a decided effect. To the plea for “ wider sympathy ” put forward by the Prince of Wales, Minto rejoined by the argument of “ the British garrison ” and “ hard facts.” The power of the Indian National Congress which was noticed by the Prince of Wales and which was also recognised by Morley in his letter of the 11th May, was to be countered by Minto by some of his cleverly conceived constitutional contrivances. We shall presently see how he was going to use the Princes, the landlords, the mercantile classes, the municipalities, the district boards, and the Mussalmans so that they might constitute a “ counterpoise to Congress aims.”

In the meantime a number of distinguished Anglo-Indians such as Sir Walter Lawrence, Private Secretary to Lord Curzon, 1898-1903, Sir Valentine Chirol, *Times* Correspondent, and Sir Sidney Low, Special Correspondent, during the Royal visit to India, 1905-06, were incessantly urging upon the Secretary of State, Mr. Morley, the need

for combating the Congress. In a letter of Morley to Minto dated June 6, 1906, Morley writes: "Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India: Lawrence, Chirol, Sidney Low, all sing the same song: 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Mahomedans will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you' and so on and so forth. I don't know how true this may be or may not be" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 30). Minto was not blind to this danger. In his reply on June 27, he recognised the Congress party as a power with which he had to deal and with whose leaders he had to reckon (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 31). ✓

Strangely enough, in the course of a few months the Mahomedans with the Aga Khan at their head decided to bring an Address before the Viceroy mentioning their grievances and stating their aspirations. Lord Minto received the Mahomedan Deputation at Simla on October 1, 1906. In his reply to the Address of the Mussalmans, Lord Minto made certain important pronouncements. To the claim of the Deputation, that "the Mahomedan community should be represented as a community," and to the claim that the position of the Mahomedans should be estimated not merely on their numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of the community and the service it rendered to the Empire, Minto replied: "I am entirely in accord with you. . . . I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of representative institutions. In the meantime I can only say to you that the Mahomedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by any administrative re-organisation with which I am concerned." Thus Minto in one breath sacrificed the ideal of personal enfranchisement and thereby rendered the realisation of a common citizenship difficult, if not impossible.

Lady Minto in her *Journal* considers October 1, 1906, as "a very eventful day," "an epoch in Indian History." That evening she received the following letter from an official whose name and identity she does not disclose:

"I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition." The letter speaks for itself and needs no comment. It shows with what end in view the Deputation of October 1, 1906, was humoured and encouraged.¹ It appears that very much the same view was taken at Whitehall. Mr. Morley after receiving an account of the proceedings of October 1, wrote to Minto on October 26, as follows: "All that you tell me of your Mahomedans is full of interest, and I only regret that I could not have moved about unseen at your garden party. The whole thing has been as good as it could be and it stamps your position and personal authority decisively" (Lady Minto's Diary, pp. 47-48). For anybody it is rather difficult to understand the reasons for this glee. We do not know whether Morley's words were words of levity or of genuine appreciation. For we know that Morley, who took pride in describing himself as "a pure Sophist," wrote in a somewhat different strain about the Mahomedans in a letter to Minto on August 6, 1909: "I note all you say about the dangerous question of the Mahomedans. R. and others are pretty sure to say we have broken our pledges, whatever you do. Though I am not less scrupulous than my neighbours, I incline to rebel against the word 'pledge' in our case. We declared our view and our intention at a certain stage. But we did this independently, and not in return for any 'consideration' to be given to us by the M.s as the price of our intentions. This is assuredly not a 'pledge' in the ordinary sense" (Morley's Recollections, Vol. II, p. 314). But inspite of Morley's protestation and equivocation the declaration of 1906 was regarded as a "pledge" both by the Mahomedans and the British Government. (In 1918 the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, after having condemned communal electorates in clear and unambiguous terms, failed to recommend their abolition on account of "a pledge which they had to honour until they were released from it" (M.C. Report, paras. 227-31).

¹ Lady Minto, in her Journal on October 3, 1906, expresses her great grief at the passing away of the great Mahomedan leader Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, who had just died in Simla. Of the many good points in his character, Lady Minto mentions prominently that "he it was who engineered the recent Mahomedan Deputation" (Lady Minto's Diary, pp. 55-56).

In going through the letters of Morley to Minto, one notices further that the Secretary of State was guided in his Reforms not so much by the strength and justice of the Muslim claims as by expediency or opportunism. After having interviewed "the sons of the Crescent" (the expression is Lord Morley's), Morley in his letter of January 28, 1909, writes: "How could I satisfy them by straight declaration off my own bat? We have to take care that in picking up the Mussulman, we don't drop our Hindu parcels, and this makes it impossible to blurt out the full length to which we are or may be ready to go in the Moslem direction" (Morley's Recollections, Vol. II, p. 293). It appears that the whole policy was one of balancing the Mussalmans against the Hindus and the Hindus against the Mussalmans. In a further letter of February 18, 1909, Morley expresses himself still more clearly. For the time being he posed as a great and sincere friend of the Mussalmans, but at the same time he was writing to the Viceroy that the whole thing was merely a pose and nothing else. He writes: "I begged the Aga Khan to dismiss from his mind, what I had seen stated, that, like all other English Radicals, I had a hatred of Islam. What other Liberals thought about Islam, I did not know; but for myself, if I were to have a label, I should be called a Positivist, and in the Positivist Calendar, framed by Comte after the manner of the Catholics, Mahomet is one of the great leading saints, and has the high honour of giving his name to a Week!! This will soon be expanded into a paragraph in the *Daily Mail*, that the Indian S.S. has turned Mahometan. That, at any rate, would tend to soften Mahometan alienation from our plans? Forgive all this nonsense. Like many another man of grave (or dull) temperament, I seek snatches of relief from boredom by clapping on a fool's cap at odd moments" (Morley's Recollections, Vol. II, pp. 296-97).

One might ask if this outpouring was worthy of the intellectual child of John Stuart Mill at whose feet he sat and upon whose wisdom he fed. One might also question if this was the language either of statesmanship or of genuine conviction. For Mill, the saint of rationalism, proclaimed it in no uncertain terms that "one person with a belief is a social power equal to ninety-nine who have only interests." We know that Morley never missed an opportunity of paying his tribute to Mill, and yet he had not the courage of taking the fullest advantage of Mill's wisdom and humanity. "In such ideas

as I have about political principles," he said in his Indian Budget Speech of 1907, "the leader of my Federation was Mr. Mill. There he was, a great and benignant lamp of wisdom and humanity, and I and others kindled our modest rush-lights at that lamp." We pause and ask: Did Morley really learn his political principles as applied to India from John Stuart Mill? Was the disciple of Mill thus "bent on making the most of life as a sacred instrument for good purposes?" To speak plainly, the whole thing seems Machiavellian, although Morley so recently and so eloquently condemned the political principles of the great Florentine in his Romanes Lecture delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford. Did he not there whole-heartedly endorse Diderot's description of some of the chapters of the *Prince* as "the circumstances under which it is right for a Prince to become a Scoundrel?"

It is, however, fair to recognise that the disciple of Mill occasionally searched his heart and returned to his innermost self. He felt that in framing the Regulations under the Indian Councils Act, 1909, the Government of India had already gone far enough in the Moslem direction and that it was necessary to cry a halt. The India Council, especially Sir Theodore Morison, was anxious to favour the Muslim claims. To this Morley would not yield. On August 6, 1909, he writes to Minto in a mood of exasperation:—

"Morison is pertinacious up to the eleventh hour about his M. friends; insists on our pledges, and predicts a storm of M.'s reproach and dissatisfaction. It may be so. On the other hand, G. predicts that departure from the lines we agree upon in your dispatch, would provoke at least as much reproach and dissatisfaction among the Hindus. We shall therefore have a stubborn talk in Council, to which I shall not contribute more than two or three stubborn sentences. I am the least in the world of a Cromwellian, but I am beginning to understand in a way never understood before, how impatience at the delays and cavillings and mistaking of very small points for very big ones at last drove Oliver to send his counsellors packing" (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 315). On August 26 next, Morley became still more emphatic and rather dictatorial. He expressed himself to Minto in the following terms: "Morison tells me that a Mahometan is coming over here on purpose to see me, and will appear on Monday next. Whatever happens, I am quite sure that it was high time to put our foot definitely down and to let them know that the process of haggling has gone on long enough, come what come may. I am only sorry

that we could not do it earlier " (Recollections, Vol. II. p. 317). A tone of doubt runs through the letters that follow, which tends to modify substantially the views expressed in the earlier letters. In a final letter to Minto on December 6, 1909, Morley clearly and unmistakably shows his disapproval of the Muslim claims in the Reforms of 1909: "I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was *your* early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. hare. I am convinced my decision was best " (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 325). Morley now felt the pangs of conscience, but the thing was past redress. He was disillusioned and saw daylight; but it was too late.

It is now perhaps proper to recognise that the Minto-Morley Reforms as they finally took shape, were not based on personal enfranchisement or territorial constituencies, but they gave, on the other hand, as the Government of India said, the widest representation to classes, communities, races, and interests. The predominant consideration behind these Reforms, as we have already observed, was to introduce a counterpoise to the influence of the Indian National Congress. In this business, Minto's was the propelling force, and Morley was gradually dragged into an untenable position. But the disciple of Mill never felt happy over the transaction though he allowed himself to become an accomplice.

Minto's plan of countering the influence of the Congress through a Council of Princes or an Indian Privy Council not only of Native Rulers but of a few other big men, did not make much progress. Minto, no doubt, wrote to Morley on May 28, 1906: "We should get different ideas from those of Congress, emanating from men already possessing a great interest in the good government of India." But Morley in his reply of August 6, 1906, positively discouraged the idea. He wrote: "The Council of Princes has never struck me as promising. Curzon, I believe, thought of it as a device for countering the Congress. My puzzle is to know what they would do when you had got them together." (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 100). As an alternative an Advisory Council of Notables was suggested, but as Minto disliked it, it was dropped by common consent. So the constant anxiety of the British Government to find "a counterpoise to the Congress party." (Recollections, II, p. 176) was relieved by another constitutional device—the creation of the typical and well-known Minto-Morley Councils.

59/ H 59/ 6 62/

In one direction, however, Morley and to some extent Minto, took an immense step forward. This was the appointment of a "Native Member," Mr. S. P. Sinha to the Viceroy's Executive Council in March, 1909. This was in a sense the most significant step that had been taken since the assumption of government by the Crown. It was, in Morley's words, "a far-reaching and deep-reaching move." When Morley opened it to the Cabinet, he said, "No more important topic has ever been brought before a Cabinet."

The proposal of a Native Member on the Viceroy's Executive Council met with serious opposition both in India and in England. Morley suggested the appointment as early as June 15, 1906 (Recollections, II, p. 174). But Minto in his reply of July 5, 1906, thought that "it would be premature to say anything about it." His objection was based on the ground that "such a colleague would necessarily become acquainted with all our State secrets, both interior and foreign" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 97). On July 11, in another letter to Morley, Minto further says: "I cannot disguise from myself the doubts which naturally arise as to committing State secrets to a Native colleague" (Diary, p. 98). Some time after, Minto's objection was gone, but the suggestion was stoutly opposed by the Viceroy's Executive Council with the exception of one member, Baker. Lord Kitchener was the most influential of those who were against (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 176). Minto gradually recognised the necessity of a Native Member on the Viceroy's Council. On January 2, 1907, he writes to Morley: "The question of a Native Member on the Viceroy's Council is fraught with weighty considerations . . . it is all important to do something at once . . . and, as I have said in my memorandum to Council, a Native Member is much the best answer that can be made to present demands" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 102). Towards the end of February, Minto emphasised his decision. On February 27, 1907, he writes to Morley: "I have determined to advise the appointment of a Native Member to my Council. . . . The reasons against it stated by Members of Council are generally narrow, based almost entirely on the assumption that it is impossible to trust a Native in a position of great responsibility, and that the appointment of a Native Member is simply a concession to Congress agitation." On March 6, 1907, Minto further informs Morley as follows: "We had our Council Meeting to-day. I wish you could have been concealed behind

the door, you would have been amused I am sure. . . . Baker and I alone support the Native Member, . . . Lord Kitchener is my strongest opponent he looked upon the appointment as an entire subversal of the old order of things " (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 104). ✓

The proposal of the Native Member in the Reforms Dispatch of 1907 was opposed, in England, at first in the India Council and then in the Cabinet. On May 3, 1907, Morley informs Minto of the Cabinet opposition in the following terms: " Ripon, whom nobody will suspect of want of sympathy with Indian hopes and claims, was hostile to the proposal on the merits—mainly on the secrecy argument—that the Member would have to know military and foreign secrets, etc., etc. this sort of thing is reason the more for keeping the Native Member—back for a while at any rate. I wish it did not prevail. But Cabinets and Ministers have to take the world as they find it " (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 211).

It was in these circumstances as a sort of second best, that Morley contented himself with appointing two Indians, Mr. K. G. Gupta and Mr. S. H. Bilgrami to his own Council, on August 26, 1907 (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 228).

When the question of the Native Member on the Viceroy's Council was re-opened again in the early months of 1909, Morley had to encounter the stubborn opposition of King Edward VII. The Royal watchword, as Morley observes, " like Stafford's *Thorough*, was *Firm*—to be reiterated with much emphasis and in capital letters." On 24th February, 1909, Morley had a long audience with the King in which Morley became acquainted with the "earnest remonstrance" of the King against the proposal of the Native Member (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 299).

On 10th March Morley took the decisive step of proposing Mr. S. P. Sinha as the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council and fortified himself by a unanimous Cabinet decision. The same day he wrote a pretty full letter to King Edward VII, telling him of the unanimity of the Cabinet and of the qualifications of Sinha for the post. " Lord Morley begs your Majesty to believe how fully alive he is to the moral responsibility incurred by him in advising a step of this sort. It is an act of high policy. Nothing but a strong conviction of its expediency—almost amounting to necessity—for the contentment and stability of your Majesty's Indian Dominion would have induced Lord Morley so earnestly to ask for an assent which your Majesty on grounds most

easily understood by him, may hesitate to give " (Sir Sidney Lee's Biography of Edward VII, Vol. II, p. 385).

To Morley the thing had really become a question of "moral responsibility." On 1st November, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of the assumption by the Crown of the direct government of India, the King-Emperor issued a masterly message to the Princes and peoples of India which was read by the Viceroy, Lord Minto, in a Durbar held at Jodhpur on 2nd November. In that message, so recently given, it was said: "Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinction of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens, and the lessons of responsibility are well learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India." The message was undoubtedly, a worthy successor to Lord Derby's proclamation of 1858, and we do well to bear in mind that the original draft was Morley's—a draft that for noble sentiments, for lucidity and terseness of exposition and for pregnant and eloquent words would rank with the ablest State papers penned in English history.

The next day, *i.e.*, on the 11th March, at a second meeting of the Cabinet it was unanimously resolved to recommend Sinha's appointment. Morley wrote again to the King enclosing with his letter the formal submission. To the first of these two letters the King replied from Biarritz on 12th March: "The King regrets that he cannot change his views on this subject. . . . He remains, however, of opinion that this proposed step is fraught with the greatest danger to the maintenance of the Indian Empire under British rule. . . . As at the last meeting of the Cabinet Council the Government were unanimous on the subject, the King has no other alternative but to give way much against his will. He, however, wishes it to be clearly understood that he protests most strongly at this new departure. God grant that the Government in India may not suffer from it " (Sir Sidney Lee's Biography of Edward VII, Vol. II, p. 385). Morley still endeavoured in his letter of 17th March to soothe the feelings of the King by mentioning the "historic promise" in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and the memorable message of His Majesty in last November. To this use of Queen Victoria's name the King rejoined on March 20: "This is the answer to my letter! Why he should bring in the name of

Queen Victoria I cannot see, nor how it bears on the question. I myself do not think she would have approved of the new departure. I have had to sign the objectionable paper". (Lee's Biography of Edward VII, Vol. II, p. 386).

Meanwhile the King had opened direct correspondence with his Viceroy, Lord Minto, on the subject. On March 22, 1909, he wrote to Minto: " I hold very strong and possibly old-fashioned views on the subject, which my son, who has so recently been in India, entirely shares.

" During the unrest in India at the present time and the intrigues of the Natives it would, I think, be fraught with the greatest danger to the Indian Empire if a Native were to take part in the Councils of the Viceroy, as so many subjects would be likely to be discussed in which it would not be desirable that a Native could take part. . . . The Indian Princes, who are ready to be governed by the Viceroy and his Council, would greatly object to a Native, who would be very inferior in caste to themselves, taking part in the government of the country. However clever the Native might be, and however loyal you and your Council might consider him to be, you never could be certain that he might not prove to be a very dangerous element in your Councils and impart information to his countrymen which it would be very undesirable should go further than your Council Chamber. . . . I unwillingly assent, but wish that my protest should remain on record, as I cannot bring myself to change my views on this subject."

To the suggestion of the King that secrecy would not be maintained at a Council meeting, the Viceroy replied that the most secret correspondence with the Secretary of State was handled by Natives, " and it is reasonable to suppose that information could much more easily be obtained from them than from an Indian in the high and responsible position of a Member of Council." The reply of the King on May 21, 1909, to this statement of the Viceroy was couched in firm and deliberate language. " There is one point you mention which greatly surprises me, which is that secret correspondence with the Secretary of State is seen by Natives, and that secret papers are copied in your office by Natives. This appears to me to be a most dangerous and objectionable practice and I am astonished that it should exist.

" Now that it has been decided to have an Indian Member on the

Executive Council, the Government of India will in future be always obliged, practically though not perhaps theoretically, to replace him by another Indian. I am afraid it is the 'thin end of the wedge,' and it will require a most resolute Viceroy to avoid being forced to nominate one if not two Native Members of his Council."

Thus the first appointment of an Indian, in Lord Morley's words, "one of the King's equal subjects," to the Viceroy's Executive Council had to encounter so much stubborn opposition both in this country and in England. In one respect, however, King Edward's apprehension about the Indian Member proved absolutely groundless. The King said that the appointment would be disliked by the Native Princes, but there was no such opposition or dislike. On November 19, 1909, Minto writes to Morley about the popularity and wisdom of Sinha's appointment: "The great Chiefs, who, we were told, would be disgusted at Sinha's appointment have called upon him: the greatest Chief in India, the Mahommedan Nizam, has written to me congratulating you and me on the appointment, and Sinha himself has won everyone's respect by his own personality, and in the official life has proved his absolute fairness and good judgment" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 359). The truth perhaps is that the fiction of the Princes' opposition to the Indian Member proceeded from the same spirit which now maintains or rather attempts to make out that the superintendence and control of the Indian States cannot be transferred to the future Federal Government of India without the consent of the Princes themselves. The new-fashioned doctrine of Paramountcy so assiduously and laboriously bolstered up is perhaps an attempted escape from a position which the logic of events has rendered almost inevitable.

In bringing this chapter of the story of the Reforms of 1909 to a close, we may further observe that the suggestion for relegating the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council to the rather unimportant and neglected portfolio of Law proceeded from Minto. On September 24, 1908, Minto in a letter to Morley explained the reasons for suggesting an Indian as Legal Member: "My reason for suggesting an Indian as Legal Member is largely because he would not be at the head of a great administrative department in which he might meet with many difficulties, and might suffer from a want of knowledge of administrative control. . . . No one recognises more strongly than I do the necessity of maintaining, under present conditions, and under future conditions too, if India is to be

preserved from chaos, the strength of British Executive Authority, and probably with the growth of Indian representation on the Executive Council, the Viceroy's powers might have to be strengthened" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 219).

It is reasonable to suppose that Morley had other aims and other views. His object, as he tells Minto in his letter of September 10, 1908, was to change "that system of government of which the bureaucrat is the rather arrogant oracle." He was, therefore, very much in favour of placing the Indian Member in charge of the Department of Finance, or Commerce, or Home. As early as September 3, 1908, he clearly expressed his own views to Minto: "I have been thinking a good deal of what you say about making an Indian Legal Member. One advantage would plainly be that such an appointment would not be taking the bread out of the mouths of the Civil Service. On the other hand there are disadvantages. If I were an Indian patriot or Congressman, for example, I should be disposed to say that my representative on the Executive Council should not be limited to Law, but should be equally eligible for Finance, or Commerce, or Home" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 216). In the end, however, Minto's view prevailed and Mr. S. P. Sinha got the portfolio of Law in 1909.

In this connection it is also interesting to notice that as early as July 1, 1908, Minto was considering the claims and qualifications of two eminent Bengali gentlemen for the post of the Law Member. One of them was Mr. S. P. Sinha, then Advocate-General of the Calcutta High Court, and the other was Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee, Judge, Calcutta High Court, and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University. On July 21 next, Minto seemed to favour the claims of Sinha, and wrote in that strain to Morley: "I have been pondering a great deal over our Council Reforms and the matter of the Native Member. . . . My inclinations have wavered between Mookerjee and Sinha. I have a sincere admiration for Mookerjee and have thought that perhaps his Hindu orthodoxy might be a valuable qualification in the eyes of his fellow countrymen. On the other hand, Sinha is a Congressman, although a Moderate, and religious orthodoxy, as Risley recently pointed out to me, plays no part in the tenets of Indian reformers" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 213). One feels inclined to ask if Minto ultimately put aside the claims of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for the Law Membership mainly on the advice of Risley.



News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

All-India Educational Conference

Arrangements for reception of delegates to the All-India Educational Conference to be held at Lucknow during the ensuing Christmas holidays from 26th to 31st December are being completed under the direction of Dr. Rai Rajeshwari Bali, B.A., O.B.E., D.Litt., Ex-Minister of Education, Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. L. K. Shah, M.A., Ph.D., its General Secretary. Dr. Sir Radhakrishnan, George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Calcutta University and Vice-Chancellor, Hindu University, Benares, has kindly consented to preside. Printed brochures giving complete detailed information about the Conference can be had from Dr. L. K. Shah, Lucknow Christian Training College, Lucknow, U.P.

All-Universities' Cultural Conference

The meetings of different sections of the All-Universities' Cultural Conference, which were held under the auspices of the Allahabad University Union, were held recently.

The meeting of the Philosophy section was presided over by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, who in the course of his address emphasised that cultural philosophy should be connected with life. He also held that the study of Sanskrit was essential for the development of Indian Philosophy.

Dr. M. H. Syed, Mr. M. U. Ahmed and Prof. Humayun Kabir next delivered lectures on diverse subjects.

At the meeting of the Arts section Mr. R. S. Pandit emphasised, in his presidential address, the need of the development of fine arts. Mr. R. C. Tandon of the Hindustani Academy and others read many interesting papers.

The business of the Literary section of the Conference was conducted under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

The Social Sciences section meeting was presided over by Prof. Gyan Chand of Patna, who spoke on 'Culture in Crisis.'

Mountaineering Club

The National Mountaineering Club of India, Lahore, decided at a general meeting to send an expedition to the unexplored regions of Tibet. The report of the last expedition to the Peak of Gepungoh, in Lahaul Valley, was read at the meeting.

Education during War Time

The Government has under consideration the question of providing facilities for education of boys and girls requiring pre-University education who, but for the war, would have been receiving such education in England but find themselves now in India—states a Press Note issued by the Department of Public Instruction, Bengal.

It is believed that there are a considerable number of such children, British, Indian and Anglo-Indian, and in the event of there being a reasonable demand for the provision of facilities in India, the Government will attempt to initiate a scheme which will provide as satisfactory substitute education as possible.

The following schemes are under consideration:

To establish in India, at some centre such as Ootacamund, Public Schools staffed and controlled as nearly as possible on the lines of similar institutions in England.

To establish tutorial centres at places where the demand is greatest, having due regard to climatic conditions, and attached, where possible, to existing schools of repute for such purposes as laboratory work, games, etc.

It is believed that fees, from Rs. 1,500 to 1,800 a year, would cover expenses.

Parents resident in Bengal who desire that educational facilities should be provided for their children, either boys or girls, are advised to communicate with the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

It is emphasised that the scheme is not one for the provision of better education for children in India on the lines of the Public School already started but is definitely a war-time measure for providing education for children who have been stranded in India and are unable to return to England, or have been brought out from England to reside with their parents for various reasons or who would have proceeded to England for education in English Schools but for the war.

The scheme is an All-India one and whichever alternative is adopted, preparation for the School Certificate Examinations, possibly Higher as well as Lower, will be provided.

The scheme will also probably be sufficiently elastic to allow of preparation for other special examinations.—*The Statesman*.

All-India Adult Educational Conference

The Secretary, All-India Adult Educational Conference, writes:—

“The second session of the All-India Adult Educational Conference will be held at Bhagalpur as already notified. All lovers of the mass literacy work are requested to attend. I shall be glad to arrange accommodation for those who will be pleased to inform me at least two days earlier. Sir Shah Md. Sulaiman is expected to preside. Dr. Syed Mahmud has kindly consented to open the Conference.”

Board of Psychological Studies in U.P.

A Board of Psychological Studies will shortly be constituted in U.P.

It will be recalled that the U.P. Primary and Secondary Education Reorganization Committee recommended the establishment of such a body.

The Government have appointed a Committee of six members with Mr. J. C. Powell-Price, Director of Public Instruction, as Chairman, to advise them regarding the constitution of the Board and the scope of its work.

The Committee will hold its sittings at Allahabad.

Patna University Convocation

Amidst deafening shouts of "Inquilab Zindabad" and "Long Live Revolution" His Excellency the Chancellor with the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Sinha, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, members of the Syndicate and the Senate entered the Wheeler Senate Hall to open the Convocation of the Patna University last month. At the outset Dr. Sinha welcoming the Chancellor on behalf of the Senators paid eloquent tributes to the manifold qualities of His Excellency and drew his attention to the fact that the Bengal Government spent more than Rs. 10 lakhs to maintain two Universities in that province whereas the Bihar Government was content with the grant of a few thousand to maintain the only University of the Province.

After his speech new graduates were awarded diplomas and medals. Amongst the recipients there were a few ladies also. The Chancellor in a neat little speech advised the new graduates to be up and doing in life to bring prosperity to the country. His Excellency was followed by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, whose speech left a deep impression in the mind of students who heard it with deep attention punctuated with occasional applause.

The function ended with shouts of "Inquilab Zindabad," "Long Live Revolution" and "Bande Mataram."

Fellowship of a U.S.A. University

Dr. T. N. Mazumdar of Lucknow University has been offered a Fellowship by the North Western University of the United States of America to carry on investigation of the problem of occultation in collaboration with Prof. Melville Herskovitz.

Primary Education at Patna

The Patna City Municipality have decided to introduce compulsory primary education within the municipal limits with effect from January 2, 1940, according to a notification issued by the Municipality.

Miscellany

THE NEW ECONOMIC ORDER IN THE FAR EAST

In Y. Yagi's paper on "The Agricultural Interrelation of Japan, Manchoukuo and China" published in the *Economic Review* (Kyoto University) for July, 1939, we are told that the Sino-Japanese conflict has now entered on a new phase in which Japan is faced with the necessity of making strenuous efforts to create a new order in East Asia which will ultimately provide the basis of permanent peace in the Far East. In other words, all East Asian political and economic problems now centre on the efforts to bring the extensive areas of North, Central and South China into the Japan-Manchoukuoan economic unit, which is already in existence, in such a manner that the three countries, Japan, Manchoukuo and China, may form a closely-knit economic organisation for mutual aid and effective interdependence, thus establishing and consolidating a new economic structure, in both a qualitative and quantitative sense.

Seeing that bloc economy of this kind demands the establishment of an autarchy or the practical application of the doctrine of national self-sufficiency, to a greater or lesser degree, it may be regarded as a merely temporary and abnormal economic phenomenon by those advocates of free trade and commerce, who believe in the unrestricted circulation of goods between nations. The fact remains, however, that bloc economy, regardless of its merits or demerits, has now become a world-wide tendency, and Japan, like other countries, is merely shaping her course in accordance with a new world trend. It remains to be pointed out, however, that there are two different types of bloc economy. One consists of economic blocs formed by countries which are popularly known as the "Haves." The bloc organisation of the British Empire is a typical example of this type of bloc economy. The British Empire, which has suffered most extensively from the economic panic arising from the chaotic condition in world markets in post-war days and from the rivalry of new-fledged industrial countries, has formed an Imperial economic bloc with a view to retaining the dominant position which it has hitherto held. This bloc is essentially conservative and defensive in that it aims primarily at self-sufficiency within the bloc by guarding itself against the encroachments of rising industrial countries, on the one hand, and by holding the Dominions and other possessions together, in close unity on the other. In contrast, economic blocs formed by the so-called "Have-nots" do not aim solely at self-sufficiency. It is true that they are striving to develop all the resources within their economic areas and that they are endeavouring to attain self-sufficiency in respect of basic raw materials. But they are not aiming at placing the entire national economy on a basis of self-sufficiency. They aim at preparing the ground for the future development of bloc countries in the extra-bloc areas. The Japan-Manchoukuo-China bloc belongs in the latter category. While striving to provide an adequate supply of the basic raw materials within the bloc, it seeks to open the way for the development of Japanese economy in the wider sphere of world markets.

Through a well-integrated establishment of a Japan-Manchoukuo-China bloc economy, Japan's efficient scientific knowledge and capital must be

linked with the rich material resources and the development of the extensive arable areas of Manchoukuo and China, so as to develop the natural resources of these extensive areas as effectively as possible. In this way, Japan will be able to secure the material resources which she lacks, and at the same time contribute to the welfare of the Manchoukuoan and Chinese peoples. With this object in view, a five-year industrial development programme was launched in Manchoukuo the year before last, while in North and Central China, the work of developing material resources has been taken in hand—in North China, chiefly by the North China Exploitation Company and, in Central China, by the Central China Development Company.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE DEFEAT OF POVERTY

According to H. Withers in *The Defeat of Poverty* (London, 1939), the conversion of consumer's needs into effective demands would be conducive to general business prosperity. This conversion can only be secured through an increase in production and distribution. According to Withers the so-called trade cycle has no regularity in time or extent that justifies its being thus misnamed. Belief in it, spread by forecasters and working through stock market fluctuations, has a seriously depressing effect on business confidence. Confidence in the prospect of future profit is the only effective stimulus to trade expansion in countries working under private enterprise. Increased purchasing power in the hands of consumers is the best foundation for this confidence in the profit prospect.

The launching of public works is recommended by Withers as a potent means of placing the purchasing power in the hands of consumers. This method of defeating depression was advocated by Sidney Webb as a cure for unemployment long before the war (1914-18). It used to be condemned in those days as militating against *laissez-faire*. "Of late, however, public works, like so many other measures once suspected as 'socialistic,' have received a good deal of pontifical blessing from some of our leading economists" (e.g., Keynes in *The General Theory of Employment*).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

A HUNGARIAN ECONOMIST

The Hungarian economist, Zoltan Magyary, says in *The Industrial State* (New York, 1939), that economic transactions have ceased in numerous instances to be private affairs and are being undertaken by the Governments. The public services have, therefore, grown enormously in the technical branches. In regard to the industrial departments of government service the influence lies not so much in the legislature as in the executive, the administration, or virtually the staff of experts. Under these conditions the premier's powers and privileges ought to be extended along the lines of totalitarian efficiency, i.e., autocratic planning and control.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SAVING IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Under the Soviet system, says L. E. Hubbard in *Soviet Money and Finance* (London, 1936), private ownership of capital being impossible and all production being directed from the centre, a holding of cash has no use except to purchase current output; whereas in capitalist countries cash may be held for future investment. It follows that under the Soviet system the decisions determining saving and investment are taken by the same people and not by two different sets of people influenced by different motives and not paying much attention to each other. For this reason the fluctuations in employment, production and prices which are caused in capitalist society by the disequilibrium between saving and investment should not in theory happen in Soviet Union. If, nevertheless, fluctuations in the volume of economic activity occur, Russian experience may throw a new light upon the general problem of unemployment.

In Hubbard's treatment of the Soviet economy the contrasted economy is the capitalist, which is taken to be an "economy based on private enterprise, open markets, and prices fixed by supply and demand."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

REVOLUTIONS AND DICTATORSHIPS

As the author of *A History of Nationalism in the East* (London, 1929), *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East* (London, 1932) and *Western Civilization in the Near East* (New York, 1936) Hans Kohn has made an objective and analytical survey of the modern world with special reference to the relations between East and West. The treatment is in most instances marked by an historico-philosophical or sociological interpretation, much of which is eminently acceptable. In certain instances the data are derived from personal experience and in others the studies are well documented. As an historian of contemporary world-forces—moral, intellectual and political—Kohn can, therefore, be taken very often as a dependable guide.

This equipment and experience have gone substantially into the making of his recent work, *Revolutions and Dictatorships* (Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass, 1939, 450 pages, \$3.50). It may be described as a bird's-eye view, although, philosophical in its orientations of the world-situation since the Versailles Complex of 1919. In this work Kohn has maintained intact the liberalism of his previous works and succeeded in offering suggestive viewpoints on the isms, pacts, and anti-pacts of the world down to March, 1939.

An unconventional approach to political problems is to be found in Kohn's recognition of the fact that contemporary dictatorships—communist and fascist—are not revivals of traditional despotism and autocracy. They are broad-based on the people and are fundamentally democratic in origin and structure.

In Kohn's analysis one is forcefully rendered conscious of the chances which have been rendered normally available for the self-assertion of the non-Russian ethnic and linguistic units in the constitution of Soviet Russia. These opportunities constitute new humanistic forces generated by the Bolsheviks. Solicitude for the diverse nationalities of Russia was conspicuous by its absence under the Czars, impregnated as they were with

Russian chauvinism. In attaching due importance to the nationality problem Lenin and Stalin have succeeded in advancing the frontiers of communistic philosophy beyond the hide-bound Marxism of two generations which was utterly indifferent to this question.

That until very recent times the socialists belonging to more progressive or oppressive nations "always found some justification for the disregard of the claims of more backward or oppressed nationalities" is admitted by Kohn and ascribed to the fallacy of Marx who in his simplicist economic interpretation failed to recognize nationalism as a force. "Lenin was the first socialist leader," says Kohn, "to proclaim and carry through the socialist principle of complete equality of all racial and ethnic groups." This distinction between the traditional socialists and Lenin has been made out by the present author in his *Futurism of Young Asia* (1922).

The judgment of Kohn in regard to the prospects of communism in western Europe can be endorsed by students of comparative industrialism and culture-history "To the western nations," says he, "which have benefited directly from the French revolution and its forerunners in Anglo-Saxon countries, whose economies are industrialized and whose standards of living and culture are very high, the example of the Russian revolution had little to offer."

What Kohn thinks of idealism in the historic announcements is embodied in the following lines describing the ideologies of the victors about 1918-19: "It seemed as if Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, felt a secret shame at having allowed themselves to be swayed for a short time by a lofty idealistic vision. A period of 'debunking' set in, the ideals of liberalism and democracy were 'unmasked' as pretentious and hollow, as rhetorical pretexts for national egotism and economic interests."

Kohn cannot be bamboozled into believing that war-time announcements of ideals and promises are to be depended on. King Hussein of Hejaz is, therefore, described as a person with an imagination which "led him to believe the vague promises of his war-time allies (1914-18) to whom the Arab army rendered conspicuous services by conquering Trans-Jordan and Syria." He was, therefore, disillusioned and did not care to sign the peace-treaty of Versailles and join the League of Nations although he was invited to do so. That he was merely a tool exploited in order to "remove the Turkish power from Arabia and establish British control or influence over the land route to India," could not be conceived by him because of his "rich imagination which mistakes rhetoric and dreams for reality." The Versailles Treaty, says Kohn, "left Arab hopes unfulfilled and crippled." "The British were glad to get rid of an ally (Hussein) who had become importunate in his insistence upon their showing good faith."

The rôle of Soviet Russia in the progress of Young Asia has been well envisaged by Kohn. He is positive that "it was the attitude of the Soviet Union which during the difficult years between the Peace of Sevres (1919) and the Peace of Lausanne (1923) made it possible for Turkey to show Europe a bold front; and it was the Soviet Union's action in renouncing the old Russian capitulations and concessions in Turkey which prepared the way for the country's political and economic regeneration." The Soviet Union felt, says he, that its fight against western imperialism was being furthered by the national revolutions in the Near East which were supplanting antiquated and corrupt monarchies, dependent on western imperialism, with young and emancipated regimes. This no way implied any community of ideas nor is to be taken as showing that communistic doctrines have made any headway in Turkey. According to Kohn it is interesting to note that

a country like Turkey co-operating most closely in the field of foreign policy with the Soviet Union, remained of all countries the freest from any communist propaganda or any attempt at communistic interference with her internal affairs. This is a point of view that is generally lost sight of in communistic and anti-communistic debates and publications.

Among the pious wishes of Kohn, exponent of liberalism, democracy and international good will as he is, we encounter the sentiment that the covenant of the League of Nations "would have allowed the gradual working out of peaceful changes." He believes that the "League would eventually have remedied the grievances of weaker or less-endowed states." But he is too much of a realist to ignore the factual "lack of a definite legal process to implement the adjustments to be made in the international field." As an idealist he thinks that Lithuanians and Bulgarians, Chinese and Indians, Koreans and Arabs, Mexicans and Negroes are the real have-nots. He does not plead for the maintenance of the *status quo*. And yet as *Realpolitiker* he admits that "liberal imperialism very rarely lived up to its own fundamental faith, "namely, the equality of all men and races." According to Kohn the "problem before us is to lessen imperialism, not to increase it. The effort should be towards more self-government, towards more equality in the colonies, not towards less."

BENoy KUMAR SARKAR

DEMOCRATIC FUTURISM

In R. Muir's *Future for Democracy* (London, 1939) the genuinely free and democratic society is one in which nobody shall be over-rich, and nobody shall be too poor to live the life of a poor man; in which the ownership of property, that necessary safeguard of liberty, will not be limited to a few, or monopolized by the state; but will be within the reach of all; in which the physical conditions of healthy and decent living will be universal; in which every citizen will be sufficiently educated to have discovered his own powers and have been given the means of becoming master of them; in which industry will be organized as the common interest of all who are engaged in it, and the state will see that the power of those who direct it is not abused in which it will be the duty of the state to ensure that the material resources of the nation, and especially its land, are intelligently utilised and there will be no danger that power over these resources will be unfairly used by private persons to the detriment of the community; in which through freedom of trade with the rest of the world everybody will have access to the abundance which the world offers to us, and the wealth of the nation available for distribution among the citizens will thereby be immensely increased, in which there will be the amplest opportunity for everybody to display all the energy and ability he possesses, for his own advantage and that of the community.

In this futurism of Muir's we encounter the highest flights of the liberal and humanist attitude towards interhuman relations and societal reconstruction such as come within the scope of a state. The ideals adumbrated may be considered to constitute the maximum of concessions to the poor which neo-capitalism has been able to suggest under the pressure of bolshevistic experiments or achievements since Leninism No. I announced the new world-order in and through Soviet Russia (1918-22).

All the same, Muir's idealism has served to furnish the non-communistic and non-socialistic world with a utopia of large dimensions.

In order that democracy may be saved it must show itself to be a dynamic and progressive creed, says Muir. In the first place, it must reconstruct the collective system of defence, which its leaders have allowed to fall into disrepair, and at the same time allow its readiness to establish justice as the only means of banishing the menace of war. Secondly, it must strengthen and improve its own methods of government, so as to refute the charge of inefficiency which has been levelled against it. And finally, it must make progress in social justice, so far as the terrors and the vast demands of the time permit.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

BRITISH VIEWS ON CURRENT POLITICS

Last year was published R. W. Seton-Watson's *Britain and the Dictators* (London, 1938). In the judgment of this British scholar the covenant of the League of Nations should be detached from the peace treaties. He goes so far as to suggest that the economic clauses of the Versailles complex should be declared inoperative. He would like to have the war-guilt clause re-defined. Nay, the assertion that Germany is unfit to administer the colonies should be withdrawn. Altogether, Seton-Watson's views are in agreement with those of the British economists, historians and statesmen who have since the publication of Keynes's *Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919) been gradually forced to feel that Germany is more sinned against than sinning. These are the logical and moral foundations of the appeasement policy followed by Chamberlain with so much popular approval *vis-à-vis* Germany. While the case for Germany has been made out by Seton-Watson he is, however, anti-Italian to the core. Italy's ambition to dominate the Mediterranean, the Middle East and Africa is his bugbear.

The anti-German tendencies of British public life may be seen in L. S. Amery's *German Colonial Claim* (London, 1939) and F. S. Joelson's *Germany's Claim to Colonies* (London, 1939). In order to comprehend the pluralistic strands of British thought it would be worth while to come into contact with the anti-Chamberlain ideology of W. S. Churchill's *While England Slept* (New York, 1938). In *Munich and the Dictators* (London, 1939), be it observed, Seton-Watson changes his pro-appeasement attitude.

Since September, 1939 (the declaration of Anglo-French War against Germany) the British ideologies have naturally been once more in the melting point.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Causality and Science—By Dr. Nalinikanta Brahma, M.A., Ph.D.
Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 120. Price 6s.

The success of modern science in our practical life has led many contemporary Western thinkers to make science the guiding principle for all the spheres of man's life. They have applied the logical-analytic method of science to the study of the problems of philosophy including those of morality and religion. As a consequence, many of the mechanical concepts of science have, without sufficient criticism, been taken to solve the ultimate problems of philosophy. One particular instance of this is to be found in the acceptance of the scientific concept of cause as ultimate. The book under review challenges the ultimate validity of the scientific principle of mechanical causation. It clearly shows how the scientific conception of the cause suffers from certain limitations and involves some assumptions. For science the cause is the sum-total of the antecedent physical conditions, which is followed by the effect. This, however, cannot explain the emergence of new qualities in the effect from the combination of conditions which do not severally possess them. A second theory of causation discussed by the author is that the cause is the primal energy out of which all effects evolve in time. It is here held that the cause is the material ground which fully contains the effect in an unmanifested form and that the production of the effect means only its manifestation. But this view, although more adequate than the first, is rejected by the author on the ground that it fails to explain the transition from an unmanifested to a manifested form of the effect without the help of the efficient and the final cause. By such arguments we are led to the third and final view of the cause as the absolute in which the material, efficient and final causes coincide. As such, the ultimate cause is said to be the absolute spirit which freely creates the world of effects ruled by the law of causality, but is not itself governed by that law. Between the absolute and the world there is no temporal or real distinction. The absolute only appears as the world of effects, but is really the free, eternal and perfect spirit. The world is but an illusory appearance of Brahman or the absolute. There is thus "the complete mergence of the effect in the cause or rather the transcendence of the causal category in the apprehension of Absolute Being" (p. 120).

It will appear from a close study of the book that it is a critical and comparative study of some important theories of causality in Indian and Western philosophy. In particular it is a vigorous defence of the Advaita Vedānta view of causation as illusory appearance of an effect in a real cause. But in the account of the Indian views given in the book there seem to be some confusions which call for notice here. When the author says that 'in India we have only two causes, the Upādāna and the Nimitta Kāraṇa or the Anuyāyi and the Ananuyāyi Kāraṇa,' he makes a statement which is not borne out by authoritative works on Indian philosophy. In these works causes have been generally classified into the three kinds of samavāyi, asamavāyi and nimitta. In some works we find a classification of causes into more than the four kinds recognised by Aristotle. Further, the Vedānta view of the absolute has been somewhat confused

with the Hegelian view. The author suggests more than once that "the absolute *expresses* itself differently at different stages, and this infinite variety of *expression* proves the infinitude of the Absolute" (p. 21). Whatever may be value of this Hegelian idea, it does not accord very well with the Vedānta view which is more correctly presented when we are told that "from the standpoint of this Absolute all growth, all creation, all change, all manifestation, all process, must be regarded as unreal" (pp. 105-06), or, that "from the standpoint of absolute knowledge there is neither any cause nor any effect, but there is only one Absolute, the self-revealed and self-revealing Brahman, and the rest are unreal or illusory appearances, not *manifestations*" (p. 119). Still we should welcome this small book as a valuable contribution to philosophy and congratulate the author on his successfully tackling some difficult problems of philosophy.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

Syphilis—By George M. Katainos, M.D. "Privately Printed" at Athens, Greece. Pp. 576. 1939.

The book gives an admirable survey of the disease from the earliest times as also its propagation into the different countries. Observations of different authors in different countries are also referred to in proper places within the volume; thus the book becomes more valuable from historical than from medical point of view. Consequently it can be read with profit not only by the medical profession but by all who are interested in the subject in order to increase their knowledge from social and ethnological aspects.

The introductory chapter somewhat elaborate is full of informations and possesses high literary merit. The *Ætiology*, *Transmission* of the disease, its relation with heredity, etc., are dealt with in great details.

In part *one* the author has described the different stages of the disease with their manifestations. Part *two* deals with the treatment with full details of its evolution up to date.

Each chapter is followed by a "Conclusion" which sums up within a short compass the essential matter discussed in the chapter. The work, no doubt, proves the phenomenal knowledge and the thorough grasp that the author possesses of the subject. The author is of opinion that the disease is incurable and that we know but very little of the disease itself. In conclusion he sounds a pessimistic note declaring that we would never know anything with certainty about its cure.

D. P. BANERJI.

Ourselfes

[I. Our New Chancellor.—II. Professor Harendra Coomar Mookerjee.—III. Election of Fellows.—IV. A New Fellow.—V. The Next Annual Convocation.—VI. The Indian Statistical Conference.—VII. Bengal Provincial Agricultural and Research Committee.—VIII. Imperial Council of Agricultural Research: Constitution of ad hoc Committees.—IX. Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.—X. Indian Association for Cultivation of Science, Calcutta.—XI. Griffith Memorial Prize in Science for the Year 1938.—XII The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Calcutta University Co-operative Credit Society, Ltd.—XIII. D.P.H. Examination, Part II, September, 1939.]

I. OUR NEW CHANCELLOR

We accord a hearty welcome to our new Chancellor, His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E., and to the Lady Mary Herbert, who made their public arrival in Calcutta in November last, and fervently hope that His Excellency will take the same interest in the affairs of the University as his worthy predecessors did.

* * *

II. PROFESSOR HARENDRA COOMAR MOOKERJEE

We announced some months ago in the pages of this journal that Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, Head of the Department of English of our University had been granted extension of service by the Senate for one year, that is to say, until the 31st May 1940. On the question of confirming Dr. Mookerjee's reappointment Government held a long correspondence with the University chiefly on certain technical grounds. Government has, however, sanctioned the reappointment and we are glad that what might have been a misunderstanding has thus happily been brought to an end.

* * *

III. ELECTION OF FELLOWS

Two Ordinary Fellows will be elected by the Registered Graduates from among themselves, one Ordinary Fellow by the Faculty of Medicine and one by the Faculty of Law. The election by the Registered Graduates will take place on the 13th January, 1940 and that by the Faculties on the 9th January, 1940.

IV. A NEW FELLOW

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali, M.L.A., to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University, in place of Lt.-Col. Sir Hasan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., V.H.S. D.Sc., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., F.S.M.F. (Bengal,) whose term of Fellowship expired on the 1st October, 1939.

* * *

V. THE NEXT ANNUAL CONVOCATION

The date of the next Annual Convocation has been provisionally fixed as March 2, 1940, at 9-30 A.M.

* * *

VI. THE INDIAN STATISTICAL CONFERENCE

The Indian Statistical Conference will be held in Madras in the first week of January, 1940. The Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts will shortly elect a University representative to the Conference.

* * *

VII. BENGAL PROVINCIAL AGRICULTURAL AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Prof. Jnanendranath Mukerjee, D.Sc., who was the University representative on the Bengal Provincial Agricultural and Research Committee for three years, has been reappointed to serve in the same capacity for a further term.

* * *

VIII. IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH:

CONSTITUTION OF *ad hoc* COMMITTEES

A number of *ad hoc* committees have been constituted by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research with some University teachers as members. Prof. J. N. Mukherjee has been appointed to serve on the Dry-Farming Sub-Committee, Prof. S. P. Agharkar on the Fruit Sub-Committee and Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis on the Botanical and Physiological Committee and the Entomological and Pathological Committee. The University has conveyed to the Imperial Council of

Agricultural Research its willingness to allow the University teachers to co-operate with the work of the Council by serving on the various committees appointed by it.

* * *

IX. IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

Prof. H. K. Mookerjee, Head of the Department of Zoology of this University, has been appointed a member of the Animal Breeding Committee under the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research with the approval of our University.

* * *

X. INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE, CALCUTTA

Dr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., has been appointed a representative of the University on the Editorial Board of the "Indian Journal of Physics and Proceedings of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science." Dr. D. M. Bose was the University nominee on this Board in 1934.

* * *

XI. GRIFFITH MEMORIAL PRIZE IN SCIENCE FOR THE YEAR 1938

The Griffith Memorial Prize in Science for the year 1938 will be equally divided between Mr. Sasankasekhar Sarkar, M.Sc. and Dr. Bishnupada Mukherjee, M.B. (Cal.), M.D., D.Sc. (U.S.A.). The former submitted a thesis entitled "Blood Grouping Investigations in India with special reference to Santal Parganas, Bihar," and the latter a thesis entitled "The Ergot Problem in India with special reference to the quality of its Pharmaceutical preparations," both of which were approved by the Board of Examiners appointed for the award of the Griffith Memorial Prize.

* * *

XII. THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY
CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETY, LTD.

The annual report of the University Co-operative Credit Society, Ltd., for this year shows an increase of membership as against that of

position with regard to its paid-up
 MR. F. N. Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-
 as the Chairman of the Society since 1935.
 of the Registrar's Department was its
 year 1938-39.

*

*

*

XIII. D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PART II, SEPTEMBER, 1939

The following is the report submitted by the Board of Examiners
 on the above Examination:—

“ The number of candidates registered for the examination was
 27, of whom 16 passed, 10 failed and 1 was absent.

None is recommended for Gold Medal.”